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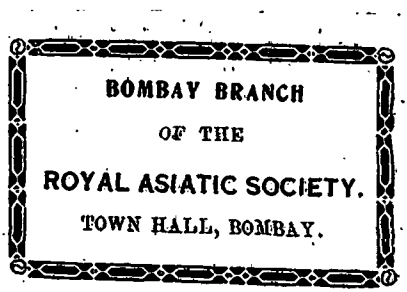

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LETTERS

OF

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS,

AND

DOCUMENTS

CONNECTED WITH

HER PERSONAL HISTORY.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION,

35537
ac

BY AGNES STRICKLAND,

AUTHOR OF

THE "LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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LETTERS

OF

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

1582. *December* —. Henry III. sends Messieurs de la Mothe Fénélon and Menneville to Scotland, to assist the young king in regaining his liberty.

December 15. Elizabeth charges Davison to accompany M. de la Mothe Fénélon, and accredits him to James VI. to assist Howes, her ambassador in Scotland, to counterbalance the influence of France.

1583. *January* 17. The Duke of Anjou, baffled in his attempt to gain possession of the principal towns in Flanders, flies to France.

Monsieur Mauvissière to King Henry III.

Sire, I have deferred, until the present, acknowledging the receipt of the despatch which it pleased your majesty to send me by Hervé; and as I have received all the instructions it pleased you to give me respecting my journey into Scotland, as well as the kind letters written by your own hand to the queen of Scotland, and to the

king her son, your little nephew, wherein you express your great sincerity towards them, and your wish to see them in unity and good understanding with each other; as also of interposing your authority to reconcile all dissensions which the time past, adversity, and circumstances have occasioned, and to bind yourselves all together by a good and firm friendship, and to prevent all ill will that might hereafter arise; whereupon I applied for an audience of the said queen of England, and presented to her the letters of your said majesty, as well as those of the queen your mother, which she appeared to me to receive with much pleasure, begging me to assist her in reading them; and returning you infinite thanks for your good will towards her, and assuring me she would correspond with you.

After informing her of all which it pleased your majesty to command me regarding my journey into Scotland, and inquiring if it was her pleasure to depute some person on her part to accompany me, that we might both join together in performing all the good offices necessary, she told me she would consult with her council upon this, and on the steps most proper to be taken in this affair with the young prince, with whom she is not much pleased, but of whom, on the contrary, she feels great distrust, as I judge from her language and manner. Nevertheless,

she told me to await an answer from him, by which she will govern herself to your contentment, for my said journey to the king of Scotland. She then went on to say, that he had driven away, banished, or removed all his nobility, to call about him some who would cause his ruin, if he did not take care. After this, she said, that, at the present moment, he did nothing but by the advice of the queen his mother, of whom she made great complaints, although she had but just assured me that she would send to her incontinently those commissioners to negociate the treaty for her liberty, and bring it to an honourable conclusion, saying, that she would be for the mother, but, as for the son, she would give herself no concern about his affairs, unless he changed his counsels.

She then said to me that your letter was full of great offers of friendship, as well as that of the queen your mother, except that, towards the conclusion, it made mention of the queen of Scotland, whose name seems to give her great vexation, saying, that if she had had to do with any other, she should long since not have been living; that she had held conference in England with her rebels, another at Rouen, another in Paris, another in Rome, another in Spain, and had set on foot intrigues against her throughout all Christendom; that she held prisoners some of her couriers and

messengers who had disclosed most of her secrets, which were in the end to take away her kingdom and her life, if she could, but rather by means of the king of Spain than by yours; and that she hoped your majesty would deliver up to her all her traitors and rebels within your kingdom, especially Lord Paget and his brother, and Lord Arundel, and some others of their accomplices; and that your said majesty would command me not to intermeddle any further in the affairs of the said queen of Scotland, and that in future I should not be so curious and inquisitive in observing the manners and customs of this kingdom, or have such close connexion with her subjects, lords, and others, as I had, in which I had been too exact, and in watching all that passed in England, of which she should complain to your majesty; and that, had it not been for the particular affection she had always entertained for me, she would not have allowed so much to another, nor have the affairs of the said queen of Scotland to be treated at such length; and that, if another ambassador ever came hither from France, he should not have the same liberty that I have had in all things.

Whereupon I replied, that I had not acted like her and her ambassadors, who had too many dealings and communications with your bad subjects; and we had a long dispute thereupon, wherein,

sire, I did not forget to remind her of all the favours which she had bestowed in her kingdom upon those who fled thither from yours, and the assistance they had received from her and her subjects to keep up the troubles in France, and that she had not delivered them up to you, but, on the contrary, had made a point of bestowing on them places and pensions, and encouraged them in their disobedience; for instance, the Vidame[a] de Chartres, who, during the first troubles, sold Havre de Grace to her; afterwards, Cardinal de Chastillon, the Count de Montgomery, and many others; and that her ambassador Throcmorton had withdrawn himself from the court of the late king your brother, to repair to the late Prince of Condé, the Admiral, and those who were at war with him, begging her to consider this conduct of these ambassadors towards your crown, when she had found means to keep up troubles, which she ought to be sorry for, as well as for the ill done to France since the death of the late king your father, and during the minority of your majesty, who have always rendered good for evil, and to whom she ought to feel grateful: and the said queen gave me occasion to say all these truths to her, as I saw that it was fitting to do so.

[a] The judge of a bishop's temporal jurisdiction.

After this, I reminded her, that, after the taking of Havre de Grace, I had the pleasure, according to the command of your majesties, to take charge of the two ambassadors, Smith and Throcmorton, who had in every respect violated the law of nations, and who had acted rather as enemies than as ambassadors; that I began to treat for peace with them, out of the great affection borne her by the queen, your mother; that I had afterwards gone to Windesors to carry her the news and the articles, to her great contentment; that since that time I had always used my best endeavours to maintain peace, as I had actually shown, during the eight years that I have been your majesty's ambassador at her court, and, by several other equally cogent reasons and examples, made her acknowledge that she could not too highly praise your majesty and myself, having shut my eyes on many occasions, for fear of rousing too strongly your majesty's suspicions concerning her conduct; and likewise spoke to her explicitly and candidly on all that the Sieur de Segur attempted to negociate with her, saying, I knew her intention, which was, to fish in troubled water, to take the course which she might think most advantageous to herself; and that, as she was determined to be absolute sovereign over her subjects, so would you be without colleague over yours.

The said queen, seeing that I spoke to her in this manner, and that I was so well acquainted with her affairs, from the many examples that I had adduced, said, she thought she had good reason to be angry with me, but that I complained most; that she had trusted to me as to a brother, at the time when the marriage was under discussion, but that at present I was pursuing a totally different course; and she thought that if your majesty were even inclined to deliver up to her Lord Paget, his brother Charles Arundel, and her other subjects, whom she calls rebels, I would prevent you from doing so. I told her I would, because you would act very wrong in doing so, after they had sought refuge in your kingdom, and it was a thing that would too sensibly affect your greatness and reputation; but she said she was certain you would deliver them up to her. I told her that I was sure she would not make so uncivil a request.

I afterwards observed to her, that she had very little occasion to complain of your majesties in regard to the queen of Scotland, as you have never yet done any thing for her beyond bearing her good-will, as you were obliged by every law, divine and human, she being so nearly related to you, and what is more, your sister-in-law, and having once been your queen, whom you could not,

abandon without great injustice, and without causing yourself to be looked upon as a prince having but little affection for your friends and allies; and as to her liberation after so long an imprisonment on the part of her nearest relative, it was a circumstance depending on the treaty and agreement which they might make together, and that she ought to wish and be very glad that your majesty should interfere as the friend of both; also, that one friendship ought never to prevent another.

The said queen, seeing that I spoke to her in this fashion and with such truth, and with arguments so strong that she could not contradict any of them, begged me to drop all these subjects, and to talk of something more agreeable, but I was resolved to draw one conclusion, that she was greatly indebted to you and to the queen your mother, for the kind manner in which you have usually acted towards her, and that she ought peremptorily to reject all the proposals made by the Sieur de Segur, and others of your subjects, who address themselves to her, without being authorized by your majesty, which she promised me to do, as well as to consider the course to be adopted regarding my journey to Scotland, where I will not forget what it has pleased your majesty so particularly to command me in the little paper

in the handwriting of Monsieur Pinart, and to do both here and there every thing that can be of service to you either now or hereafter.

I have heard, sire, that the gentlemen of your finances have ordered me only five hundred crowns for such a journey, and without sending me any ready money. I meant to spend no more than fifteen hundred, which is as much as they allowed Monsieur de la Mothe last year. I keep several servants, some of them going and coming to bring me news for the service of your majesty, and others in this quarter, who think that I ought to recompense them handsomely for their zeal in the service of your majesty. There is Archubal Duglas, who has asked me to lend him a thousand crowns, and so do several more here whom I detached from the Spanish party, which is the same as asking your majesty for money, and on these occasions I have spared nothing for your service. The said Archubal, who is a man of quality, and very useful, has refused a pension of two thousand crowns from the queen of England; he is so clever that I can refuse him nothing that is in my power. The said queen of England gives six thousand crowns a year to the Ambletons, for whom of late I have done what I could. I know, sire, that it is not by the desire of your majesty that the gentlemen of your finances have not ordered me more for

the said journey into Scotland, of which I make more account than of all the wealth of the said sieurs of your finances, to whom I might reply, by leave of your said majesty, to what they say about my having the ordinary allowance for this country, which would be twenty livres a day, if I were duly paid, and I had no additional expenses for my journey to Scotland. Last year there was left an arrear of twelve hundred crowns of the said allowance, postponed to the present. And if this were paid me I should not have half sufficient, considering the high price of money, provisions, and all other things in this country, where it is more than a hundred years since this allowance was instituted, when every thing was two-thirds cheaper, without counting the recompences, which the kings, your predecessors, gave their ambassadors, none of whom has for these forty years incurred so many expenses, ordinary and extraordinary, as myself, who have never lived half the year on your said allowance; and to say that it would be sufficient to go to Scotland, having here a large house, many servants, wife and children, is very unreasonable; for, to make such a journey of high importance for the honour and service of your majesty, and to be honourably accompanied, and to live in a becoming style, as he will do who will go on behalf of the queen of England, and who will spare

nothing—this cannot be done for a trifle; but, whatever the said gentlemen of your finances deem for your service, I will be the first to conform to, and to every thing that it shall please your royal bounty to command me, humbly beseeching you, that at the beginning of this year you will please to pardon me if I make such just remonstrances, and to cause me to be paid what is due to me, that I may be enabled to discharge large debts which I have contracted for your service, without ever being master of one inch of ground, excepting Concressault, which is worth seven or eight hundred livres by the year, and which I hold for the sum of thirty thousand livres upon bond of the late king, your brother, and of your majesty, for money, which I furnished by your commands, to remove the German troops from your kingdom. And Monseigneur your brother purposes to seize the said Concressault, to unite it to his domain of Berry, for which reason I shall most humbly beseech your majesty to repay me the said thirty thousand livres, as nothing more than reasonable; and that done, I can say that I have no other retreat in your kingdom but an hostelrie; but I will console myself for every thing, with having faithfully served your majesty and your crown, as I will continue to do all my life, and to employ it wherever it shall please you to command me,

always praying to God, sire, to grant your majesty perfect health, and a long and happy life. From London, this xviith January, 1583 (N. S.).

N. B. This letter, though not signed, is by Castelnau, as it is easy to perceive from the corrections, additions, and interlineations, which are in his own handwriting, on the draft from which it was transcribed by Brequigny, from whose collection it is taken.

1583. *January* 27. The King of Scotland recovers his liberty, and resumes the reins of government.

The Queen of Scots to Monsieur de Mauvissière.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, I think before this you will have been fully informed of the deliverance of my son from the hands of those traitors who held him in durance; I need not, therefore, tell you the particulars that I have heard respecting it, and will only beg you to interpose with the king, monsieur my good brother, in my name, in order that he may be pleased, necessity requiring it, to assist my son for his preservation and for the support of the good party which is now about him. If, however, this queen attempts to assist the rebels in any way, employ, if you please, the name and credit of the king, monsieur my good brother, to prevent her. You have formerly, on the like occasions, made the same remonstrances, which may be of service on this. I know not how far the treaty for my liberty

will succeed, having received no news or answer since the departure of the commissioners; strive with Beale to discover the intentions of the said queen, and her opinion of the late alteration in Scotland, and which I affect not to know of in my last of the 10th, which I addressed to you through Walsingham, seeing that he has not written any thing about it, and lest it should be discovered, that I have any secret correspondence. Endeavour, I beg you, but as if of your own motion, and not upon any new solicitation which I have made, to ascertain the final resolution of the Queen of England respecting the articles of the said treaty already agreed upon by me with her deputies; observing to her, that she cannot do less than set me at liberty, if she accepts my overtures and conditions. I also wish you to tell me what the high treasurer and Walsingham said at the conferences you had with them on this treaty.

The enclosed is to be forwarded to my ambassador; and if you receive any trunks from him, order them to be sent to me, if possible, without being searched; not that they contain any thing of importance, being merely clothes for my own use, which at this time I do not wish to be much handled. Having nothing more to write to you, I conclude, praying God to have you, Monsieur de Mauvissière, in his holy keeping.

From Sheffeild, this xiith day of July, 1583.

Since writing the above, I have received your last of the xxiiid of this month, according to the New Style. I am surprised that you have not given me any particulars relative to the deliverance of my son, which makes me think that those of this council keep it secret and concealed. Please to thank, in my name, Archubal Duglas, for his good offices with the Sr. de Valsingham, and beg him to continue his intercourse with him, that he may draw from him all he can; taking especial care not to let him know that he holds any secret communication with me; and, to cover it the better, let him try to write to me through the ordinary channel, to inform me of the kind offers of the said Valsingham in my behalf, and persuading me to continue in the good opinion which he knows me to have for him; for indeed, if I were but sure that the said Valsingham was dealing uprightly, I should be very glad to make friendship with him, without prejudice to his duty towards his mistress, looking upon him to be a plain, downright man, and whose disposition would easily agree with mine, if he were acquainted with it otherwise than from the reports of my enemies. Adieu. This xvth day of July.

This letter is taken from a copy which had probably been communicated to Walsingham. See the note at the bottom of a letter, addressed to M. de

Mauvissière, the 26th February, 1584. (Note by Brequigny.)

The following is the note in question.

N.B. This letter is taken from a copy which appears to have been made by some person who was betraying the Queen of Scotland, and, probably, communicating to Walsingham the letters of this princess to Mauvissière. On the back of this copy is still to be seen a seal, with the impression of a fleur-de-lis within a lozenge, and several holes in the paper through which passed the strings that closed the said copy.

I have remarked that all the copies of the letters of Mary Queen of Scotland to Mauvissière which are in this register are in the handwriting of her secretary, Castelnau, and the same register contains several minutes, sewed together, in the handwriting of Mauvissière.

1583. *January* 27. Mary Stuart goes for the last time to the baths at Buxton.

September 1. Walsingham arrives, on the part of Elizabeth, at the court of Holyrood, to support the English party, but is received with great coolness.

The partisans of Mary Stuart in France, but especially Charles Paget and Morgan, the manager of her dowry, propose a new plan for her deliverance, according to which the Duke of Guise is to land with an army in the south of England, and James VI. to enter with his troops in the north.

M. de Mauvissière to King Henry III.

Sire, I have received the despatch which it pleased your majesty to send me by Courcelles, and learn by it that you have seen mine, which I have forwarded to him, as well relative to the arrival of the S^r^ de Segur, at this court, as to his sojourn and his doings, the journey of the S^r^ de Walsingham to Scotland, what he was charged to treat of there, the change made about that time by the young king, for which the English, who were enemies of the queen his mother and of himself, have redoubled their hatred towards her and her son; whilst, on the contrary, the Catholics and others less prejudiced are more favourably disposed towards them. The said S^r^ de Walsingham has returned greatly dissatisfied with the said King of Scotland, and those who are at present of his council, and he said to me all was owing to the intrigues of the queen his mother, who, though very ailing, was well enough to see the utter ruin of her son, if he does not take to a different course. Some of the most violent here were of opinion that the queen would have taken occasion of some extremity for war against the said King of Scotland; but I observed, in the remonstrances that I made to her, that she ought not to undertake any thing against this young prince for striving to regain his

liberty, or for following the counsel of those of his subjects, in whom he most confides; but she had just reason to fear his calling in foreigners to his succour, which the said Queen of England has well considered; and, by the advice of her high treasurer, has resolved not to declare war against the King of Scotland upon any slight pretext or trifling occasion, but allow him to proceed his own way, and sow his wild oats; but she should be on her guard against him; and if the Scotch should make any more incursions on the English border, seek to adjust matters by gentle means and justice: yet, at the same time, she is trying more than ever, by means of those Scotch who are discontented at present — noblemen and others, assisted by ministers, always greedy—to wrest a part from the said Scotland, and sparing no money to form a new party for the purpose of placing the King of Scotland in other hands, and with another council, if possible, than that which he has at present, and to restore the authority to those whom he lately dismissed, because he considered them as stanch partisans of the English and the Hammiltons; a thing against which the King of Scotland must be carefully on his guard, and against any change being speedily made in his situation; about which I warned him, as well as about the intrigues which the said S^r. de Walsingham left behind him in the said Scot-

land, for which he thanked me. He also told me that, seeing the good offices which I am in the habit of doing him, those which I have done to the Duke of Lennox, and the confidence which the queen his mother places in me in all things, he begged me to be in the same disposition towards them, and to inform him of any thing of importance to them that might come to my knowledge, and that he would acquaint me more fully with all his affairs, through an ambassador named James Melvil, whom he is going to send hither.

For my part, sire, I think that the best advice which can be given to him, at present, is to accommodate matters as speedily as possible with all his subjects, and to remove the suspicions they at present entertain, otherwise the ill-will which the nation bears him, and which is further excited by the English faction, may reduce him to great extremity, like his predecessors, most of whom have been killed or come to a tragical end, as well as those who governed them, as the said Duke of Lennox at last experienced; the Queen of Scotland, his mother, is still suffering for it; the which princess, sire, has written to me several secret letters, in the last of which, among others, she earnestly entreats me to write to your said majesty, and beseech you not to abandon your old alliance in Scotland, nor the mother and the son, who both bear you the

warmest affection, but to defend them against their enemies and wicked subjects, who would, if they could, reduce the son to a worse state than the mother, in order to ruin them both afterwards by plots, which the English have and always will have in the said Scotland, as well as with their enemies, or permit messieurs, her cousins, of the house of Guyse, to assist them as far as lies in their power, in order that the said king, her son, may never seek other means, favour, or support, than those of your said majesty and of your kingdom. The said Queen of Scotland also desires that, in case I should be again spoken to about her liberty, and about sending back the commissioners, I should turn a deaf ear, and make no reply; for, as they have not promptly come to a conclusion with her, she has no wish to repeat the requests which she has made to you by her ambassador, and to permit her to dispose of some part of her dower, seeing the necessity she is in, and the losses she has sustained during the wars, in her said dower, that she may have a sum of money to pay her debts, and to oblige her this once, her and her son, by which you will bind them for ever to your majesty on all occasions that may occur. I informed her, in reply to this, that in my opinion it would not be proper for me to write this in my own name to your majesty, and, therefore, I entreated her to excuse me

Nevertheless, I have not dared to omit to represent to you all that passes, that your majesty may command me, if you please, what answer I must give, if she should write to me again on this subject; as I have not and never shall have any thing in my thoughts or in my view but your will and faithful service.

And as the Sr. Archibal Duglas has spoken to me several times to prevail upon me to interpose, in the name and with the authority of your said Majesty, to adjust all matters between the King of Scotland and his subjects, and to render you the mediator for settling the differences which prevail among them, and preventing what might happen worse through the English; he told me again, yesterday, that he thinks your Majesty would perform an act worthy of your greatness, and that you would gratify both parties much by interposing as mediator. I am informed, sire, that, two days ago, the Queen of England received intelligence from France, that your said Majesty will not interfere, nor permit any of your subjects to go thither; this gave her great satisfaction, and she is better pleased with your Majesty than she was before.

Upon this, and the despatch which you were pleased to send me, I considered it my duty to see her, as I have done, and to assure her of the desire you have of cultivating her friendship in all things;

if, on her part, she does the like, and acts sincerely; which was very agreeable to her, and she received me with great favour and honour, saying, she daily found your said Majesty more and more kindly and sincerely disposed towards her. Whereupon I did not let slip the opportunity of observing, that your said Majesty was a magnanimous and generous sovereign, and sincere and faithful in the friendship you promised to your friends and servants; that she ought to consider that you never had desired or sought any thing but her happiness and repose, and to see her reign happily over her subjects, as she ought to wish that you might reign over yours, and not to think that you had other kings in France, or colleagues, who ought or could send ambassadors or messengers, without your permission, or that it was right for her to receive them. Whereupon she changed colour, and, asking why I had said this, I told her that I alluded to the Sr. de Segur and other subjects of yours, some of whom were now with her, and others on their way, to whom she could not do a greater kindness than by advising them never to seek any other favour or protection in the world than yours. This she took in good part, as also when I seriously represented to her, quoting past examples, that all her negociations with your subjects, princes, nobles, Huguenots, and others, without your Majesties, had brought her nothing but a

bad character and injury, and that she was in danger that God would retaliate upon her the evil she had done to another. She took this well of me, and gave me good words, wishing to remove the idea of her having treated with the said Sr. de Segur, against your said Majesties, saying, that he was more frequently at my house, he and his friends, and with me, than with her, or in any other place with any of her subjects. I replied that this was in order to give greater colour to those practices, which I should soon discover; and so I will, with the help of God, and all that he purposes doing on his journey, and will send all the secret intelligence that he has transmitted in writing to your kingdom; for I have persons about him who never sleep; and, in the end, it will be found that they are on the point of concluding the league, concerning which I have written to her, and will build it with great art and diligence, if they can. But, as for the negociations of your subjects, princes, or others, here, I hope to frustrate their designs, as I did in time past similar factions of the Duke de Casmir and Monsieur the Prince of Condé.

It is necessary, along with fair words of friendship to this princess, to excite her fears and to represent to her the greatness of your said Majesty, and the means you have of resenting any injuries and ill offices done to you; and I do not doubt,

unless some great change takes place, that I shall be able to keep this princess and this kingdom in the utmost fear of offending you; and at least, if they do you not much good, that they will not dare to do you harm; for I know of means of making them feel, and in their own country, through their own subjects, whenever your said Majesty may please to command me, for they are well aware that I am acquainted with the circumstances and disposition of each, for I have spared nothing to entertain them. And, in this place, I will again most humbly pray your Majesty to have pity on me, and cause the xxi^{m} [21,000] livres which you have by your kind order assigned me, to be paid me this year, that I may pay my debts; and that, through your royal generosity and bounty, I may receive this particular favour without being under obligation to any body. This, sire, will be greatly to your service and honour; because, in paying my debts, I shall gain servants for you, and hold your enemies in check, as well as be enabled to recompense those who are of use to you here, and who give me the good information, for which I spare nothing; and I know not how God has given me the means of subsisting so long, without having had any benefit or recompense from your Majesty, who is so beneficent and liberal to all. But I shall await your pleasure, and, in the mean time, very humbly

beseech you to pardon me, if I take the liberty of requesting so often that I may be paid at least what is owing to me. It is a very singular circumstance that the Spanish ambassador, who has not seen the Queen of England for these three years; and never stirs from his house, who has no expences, sees no company, and has placed the affairs of his master in this kingdom in a very bad position, should, nevertheless, receive from his master such numerous benefits, having had two commanderies and other valuable recompenses given him, besides having all that he wants for his ordinary pay, which is advanced to him every quarter. But I will value more highly the favour of your Majesty, to whom I will always render most humble and faithful service, than all the wealth of the Indies.

We have news here that Signor Don Antonio[b] will soon have come to an agreement with the said King of Spain, on which subject there are different opinions. As for the Sr. de Segur, he has gone to Flanders; he will thence proceed to Germany, to continue the journey which I have mentioned to your said Majesty, to the princes whom he believes to be well disposed towards his master, and to form as extensive a league as he can with them for the preservation of the Protestants. But I will send

[b] The claimant of the crown of Portugal.

you a copy of it soon, God willing. The said Sr. de Segur dined and supped at my house the day before his departure, and made me a thousand fine protestations that he would not do any thing contrary to the interests of your said Majesty; and likewise told me, that he had had divers accounts that the King of Navarre, his master, as well as all those of his religion, had more confidence in you than in any other person in your kingdom; and that, if any ill befel them, they should be certain that it did not proceed so much from any ill will on your part as from their own ill luck and other enemies, which they were resolved to remedy, if they could, and he to seek what friends the King of Navarre could reckon upon, in case he needed them. I said the same to him that I had done to the said Queen of England; namely, that he did not want a better than your said Majesty. The Queen of England has furnished him with a good ship, to convey him over with his money; but he found the wind very high and contrary, so that he was obliged to put into Dover. I shall be sure to hear of his proceedings, as I presume that your servants in Germany will give you information about him, particularly M. de Dansay, who is in Denmark, where the said Sr. de Segur is to treat upon several affairs, pecuniary and others, and of their protestant league.

I have often said and written to your Majesty, that it was in this kingdom that the first levies and capitulations of hired troops took place, when your subjects of the reformed religion determined to make war against you; but, since I have been resident here, I have prevented this, which I will always do, with God's aid, by my best and most zealous services. Praying God, sire, to give your Majesty perfect health and a long and happy life. From London, this .....[c] November, 1583.

P. S. If your Majesty sends the mules and carriages which I have been promised, and which have been so long expected, they will not be badly employed.

This letter is copied from a minute, the whole of which is in the handwriting of the secretary of Castelnau. It is full of erasures, corrections, and interlineations, by the hand of Castelnau himself.

1583. *November* 24. Arden, a gentleman of Warwickshire, Sommerville, his son-in-law, with their wives and sisters, are tried, with Hall, a Catholic priest, for a pretended conspiracy against Elizabeth's life.

December 20. Arden is executed in London.

M. de Mauvissière to King Henry III.

Sire, since the last despatch which I sent to your majesty, I have received that which it pleased

[c] The date is blank in the manuscript.

you to address to me on the 25th ultimo, commanding me to transmit to you the negociations of the Sr. de Segur in this country, and what he has written over concerning it, and the answer which he has received, on which points I have completely satisfied you, through Hervé. Since then, I have several times seen the Queen of England, your good sister, whom I accompanied, with a party from this city, to a house of hers, called Hampton Court, where she stayed two days, and then returned to this city; the said lady having expressed great pleasure that I had seen her so privately; and I took suitable occasions (as I had done before) to tell her that your majesty was not so ill informed as not to be thoroughly acquainted with all the proposals made to her by the said Sieur de Segur, and what were the intentions of the King of Navarre, and those of his religion, to seek to form leagues as well with her as with the other Protestants, upon pretext of religion, tending some day, if they were the stronger, to overthrow the Catholic religion, and the political state of your kingdom; but that your majesty, having put good right on his side, would always take measures that such practices of your subjects and their adherents should turn to their own great confusion and injury. And I said to the queen, that your majesty would not believe, nor I either, that she

would ever meddle in so bad a cause as to take part with subjects against their king, but more especially in respect to you, who had always been, and would be, if she gave you occasion, the best brother, neighbour, and friend she could wish for, which is the same thing that I had said to her before; and that she ought to take care lest God should retaliate on her the evil she should bring upon her neighbours. Whereupon she gave me a very mild answer, saying, God forbid that she should undertake any thing against you, or your kingdom, which could offend you. So that she not only promised me not to do any thing of the kind that could displease you, but begs me not to give you any alarm, especially since I assure her, from day to day, of your friendship, of which she confesses that she had a striking proof when you would not permit forces to go from your kingdom to Scotland, strongly as you were solicited to do so, and which she promises to repay.

And in regard, sire, to the schemes of the said Sieur de Segur here, I hope to make them pass off in smoke; besides, the said Queen of England and her council have at present business enough at home, without meddling in the affairs of others; the said queen having confessed and declared to me, quite in detail, that she has discovered, and was discovering every day, great conspiracies

against her; and that there were more than two hundred men of all ages who had conspired, at the instigation of the Jhesuits, and those of the seminary of Reins, where there are several Englishmen, to kill her; that the execution was to have taken place either last month or this; and that several of the conspirators were in this city, and sometimes at her court, and others dispersed in different parts of her kingdom; which circumstances were miraculously coming to light every day, by the grace of God, to whom she was ready to yield up her soul whenever it might please Him to call her by any death whatever; and she returned Him infinite thanks for having permitted her to reign thus far so happily, to the great quiet of her subjects, who had always appeared perfectly contented until now. She then said, that it had been reported in Spain that she was dead, and people had told this to several English merchants, who were in that country on business, or that she would die soon, at the same time expressing great joy, which she thought to have originated with her Jhesuit subjects, who have retired to the said Spain; and the said lady went on to talk to me, at great length, very privately of such occurrences, and of the conspiracies against her, which had entered into the hearts of some of her Catholic subjects.

Just at this moment, many people, in large

companies, met her by the way, and kneeling on the ground, with divers sorts of prayers, wished her a thousand blessings, and that the evil-disposed who meant to harm her be discovered and punished as they deserved. She frequently stopped to thank them for the affection they manifested for her; being, she and I alone, amidst her retinue, mounted on goodly horses, she observed to me, that she saw clearly that she was not disliked by all. I then said that, in general, and on particular occasion, your majesty would take her part against all her enemies; at the same time paying her all the compliments calculated to keep up your friendship, not forgetting, as it was fitting, to remind her, that it is not right to furnish subjects with the means of attacking their sovereigns, who ought to be held sacred; and that, as your majesty reprobated such wickedness on your part, she ought to do the same on hers, and not henceforth give audience to subjects of yours, who may address themselves to her with the intention of disturbing your kingdom.

She then touched upon the language of several of her subjects, who had withdrawn to France, Romme, and Spain, where they had hatched all their conspiracies against her; therefore it was not without occasion that she had so often besought your majesty to expel them from your kingdom.

I did not fail to remind her that she had been the first to sin on this point, not only by harbouring Frenchmen in England, but by giving them a church, with full liberty to write, compose, treat and manage affairs of state, prejudicial to yours; to fit out ships; as Montgomery and several others had found aid and assistance here for making war upon you, which had turned to their confusion; as all that she might do at the solicitation of the Sieur de Segur, and others of your subjects, would also do.

Thus, sire, in going to and returning from the said Hambton Court, did we advert to many things for your service, which I discussed more familiarly than in an audience. I also slightly touched upon my journey into Scotland, by the authority and command of your majesty, and she acknowledged that this would be sufficient to place the affairs of that kingdom in a better state, and to unite you both for that purpose, and to keep that young prince in safety, and in peace with his subjects. I likewise spoke to her of the Queen of Scotland, and repeated the substance of the letter which she wrote to me, and which I sent to you; this she took in very good part, promising me to return an answer as soon as she had seen an ambassador, whom the King of Scotland is to send to her. The Bishop of St. André, Primate of the

said Scotland, arrived here four days ago, on his way to France, whither he pretends to be going for the benefit of his health, as well for the use of baths at the moment, as to consult some eminent physicians for the future. And he was directed by the King of Scotland to wait in passing upon the said Queen of England, to assure her of his good-will, and to sound her as to her sentiments towards him.

The said bishop informed me, that he was charged to call to see me, on behalf of the King of Scotland, to speak to me on several subjects, as having confidence in me; and begging me to excuse him for not coming sooner, on account of the great suspicion he perceived in the English, who narrowly watched every motion of himself and his people. I have been told that the said bishop was a friend of the late Duke of Lenox, and that he was charged by the Earl of Arran, about whom I lately wrote to you, to assure the said Queen of England, and some of her council, that, if she wished it, he, the said Earl of Arran, would render the King of Scotland entirely devoted to her in any way she wishes, and so as to do only just what she pleases: but I know not if she can place any confidence in this. It is thought that he is going to France, to negociate some affair, under the pretext of recovering his health; but the queen

told him it was very possible to do that here, and that there are very excellent baths in England. She manifested great jealousy because Lord Seaton was ambassador in your kingdom.

The son of the said Duke of Lenox has arrived in Scotland, and is so much beloved by the young king that he cannot live without him, caressing him with great affection from morning till night. The queen of England assured me of the same thing, saying, that she wished to gratify the Queen of Scotland; and that, in regard to her son, she would behave towards him as he should to her. Nevertheless, the said Queen of England is treating very secretly and assiduously for his marriage with the daughter of the King of Sweden, in order to attach him on that side, and to prevent him from having favour and succour through any other alliance, as she fears that he will turn Catholic, in order to marry the daughter of the King of Spain. And I have been assured that the said queen has offered to the King of Sweden to pay the whole expense of his daughter's marriage. On this subject I shall learn more, that I may inform your majesty.

Meanwhile, I must not omit to tell you, that a great many persons are committed to prison on account of this conspiracy; and that Lord Paget, Charles Arundel, and several more noblemen and

principal gentlemen of quality in this kingdom, fled four or five days ago, and embarked by night on board a vessel at Arondel, which still more astonished the queen and those of her council. I have written to the Queen of Scotland, what your majesty was pleased to command me, touching the succours that she might require of you, she and her son, to inquire if they needed any, either soldiers *or other munitions*.[d] I shall be very sorry to intermeddle if things should not turn to your majesty's honour and service. The despatch which will be necessary in this case, would be a power and plenty of blank papers, signed by your said majesty, to be filled up whenever the said King of Scotland might have occasion; such as were formerly given to me by the late king, your brother, when I made a like agreement with the Queen of Scotland and her subjects, at the time that all her bastard brothers were against her, and when she solicited assistance from France to make war upon them, and upon England, which took part with them; but I put a stop to this by the said agreement and reconciliation between them. It would also be necessary that your majesty should write a very civil letter, with your own hand, to the said Queen of England, to assure her that your majesty is impelled solely by a friendly and laudable desire to

[d] These words are underlined in the minute.

see things in a good state among them; and if you interfere as a third party, it is as the best and most faithful friend they can have. It would be advisable to write the same to the Queen of Scotland and her son.

And in regard to the expence, sire, to which I shall be put by my journey, I hope that your majesty will provide for it as befits your honour and service, that I may go honourably as those do who go on the part of the said Queen of England, and who display there the grandeur of their mistress; which I will leave to the consideration of your majesty, as well what is necessary for my journey, as how much to be paid me of what is due to me, and not to that of the gentlemen of your finances, who (what faithful services soever I have done you, or what ordinary or extraordinary expences soever I may have from necessity incurred) have never yet found that there was any money for me. So I suppose that they judge my intention and duty to be what they really are, to value your faithful service above all the riches in the world.

I must not forget to inform your majesty, that there are at present two principal persons in Scotland who govern there; namely, Colonel Stuart, who has pushed his fortune so successfully during the last six months since he has been ambassador there, that he has become rich, with the certainty of

being created Earl of Boucan. There is another also, of the name of Stuart, called Earl of Aran, made such by the Duke of Lenox, who has quarrelled with every one with whom he has had any dealings, as he did with the said Duke Lenox, and afterwards with the Queen of England; he took her money and laughed at her; and did not keep his promise to the noblemen of the country, with whom he agreed to return with the said Duke of Lenox; and he has always been very fickle, and only keeps on good terms with those whom he supposes to possess most power and favour. It is necessary, sire, to hold out fair hopes and promises on the part of your majesty to these two; for I understand that the Queen of England is endeavouring to gain them over, whatever it may cost her. And the said Earl of Aran gives her hopes that he will do what she pleases, and place the King of Scotland entirely at her disposal; but she dare not trust him.

There is another thing which would be of great importance, which is to obtain some appointment for the Sieurs Hamiltons, if possible. Your majesty would have the honour of re-establishing them by the same means; but, as the said Earl of Aran holds their earldom, and as he would rather see all Scotland ruined than give it up without being recompensed with the like dignity, it would

be necessary to find means to obtain for him another earldom, to induce him to relinquish that of the said Hamiltons, that they might owe this obligation to you; and in case the said King of Scotland and the said queen his mother should die without heirs, the said Hamiltons would always be at your disposal and service, for which they have very often expressed a desire and anxiety to me, and that your majesty would take them under your protection rather than the queen of England, who allows them a very handsome maintenance. It is but a few days since she gave three thousand crowns to him who was in France, and she gave him two thousand when he arrived. Here I shall pray to God, sire, to give your majesty perfect health and a long and very happy life. From London, the xix December, 1583.

This paper is copied from a minute full of erasures and interlineations, most of them in the handwriting of Castelnau.

Henry III. to the Queen of Scots.

Madam my sister, it is unnecessary to represent to you the vexation and displeasure which I have received, and still suffer, from your long detention and captivity. The friendship, affinity,

and close alliance between us, must give you sufficient testimony and assurance of this, and enable you to conceive what are my feelings; but my chief care and anxiety is to bring about and facilitate, by my good and fraternal offices, your deliverance and liberty. I have also a particular desire to see my nephew, the King of Scotland, your son, reign happily and peaceably, as I know you to be guided by the like affection, and that he should be respected, served, and obeyed by the lords and subjects of your kingdom, as it is their natural and bounden duty.

For these considerations and purposes, I have ordered the Sieur de Mauvissière, my councillor and ambassador in England, agreeably to what I have seen in the letter which you wrote to him, that you wish him to interfere and to make use of my name, as well with the Queen of England as with my nephew, your son, and the said lords of your kingdom, to proceed thither; being certain that I could not have made choice of a better person than the said Sieur Mauvissière, not only because he is zealous in the matter, but because he will be more agreeable and better liked than any other for the management and negociation of the said affairs.

I am sure also that he will acquit himself faithfully and worthily, according to my intention and

yours; and, in order that he may be more particularly acquainted with the latter, I have written to him to call to see you in my name, on his way, and to deliver to you this letter with my most affectionate and cordial recommendations to your good graces, by the permission of the Queen of England, madam my good sister and cousin, who, in my opinion, cannot but approve the office that I am undertaking in this case, which is praiseworthy in itself, and must be well pleasing to God, whom I pray to have you, madam my sister, in his holy and worthy keeping. Written at St. Germain en Laye, the xxth day of December, 1583.

This letter is transcribed from a copy, which appears to be in the handwriting of Mauvissière's secretary. It is endorsed: Copy of the letter of the King to the Queen of Scotland.

1583. *December.* Walsingham, having received information of the projects of Morgan and Paget, apprehends Francis and George Throgmorton, and summons the Earls of Northumberland and Arundel before the Council.

1584. *January* 1. The latter succeed in exoneratin̄ themselves, but Francis Throgmorton, on being put to the torture, avows that the Duke of Guise and Mendoça, the Spanish ambassador in London, had communicated to him the plan of an invasion.

March 2. James VI. suspects some new plots, and banishes from his kingdom all the persons concerned in the attempt on Ruthven Castle.

April 13. The Earls Gowry, Angus, &c., put themselves at the head of a body of Scotch insurgents.

April 18. Gowry is made prisoner, after an obstinate battle with the royalist army; the other insurgents seek refuge in England.

May 3. Earl Gowry executed in Scotland.

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, I should have answered before this your last of the 29th of March, 1st, 6th, and 17th of April ult., but for the arrival here of Seneschal Maron, who having assured me that you are minutely informed of what passed during his short stay in this country, as well with himself as with the Sieur Wade, I will not enter into any repetition. I did not neglect, agreeably to your advice, to explain and earnestly recommend my just grievances and complaints to the said Maron, of the wrongs that have been done me, and that I am daily suffering, in regard to the disposal of my dower, and I told the other as plainly what were my conceptions relative to the present situation of my son in Scotland, and to my own in this captivity, purposely that he may make his mistress acquainted with it. I should have gone deeper into the matter with him, especially about the renewal of the proposed treaty for my liberty, had he not repeatedly assured me that he had no order, or charge, or commission, from his mistress, but merely to accompany the said Maron. I can testify that, in all his conversation and remonstrances, he proved himself to be

as partial an Englishman, and as ill affected towards the king, my good brother, as it is possible to be; whereupon Nau did not fail to rebuke him severely for it, and especially because he alleged that a French gentleman, who is charged to conduct the affairs of the said king, monsieur my good brother, in this kingdom, putting my finger upon you, had said, on showing him some of my letters, that it would cost the said king, monsieur my good brother, more than four millions before I or my son should ever attain the crown of England. I, however, earnestly entreat you not to betray the least knowledge of this, inasmuch as it could only come from this quarter, and would greatly injure me, as well as the said Nau, to whom he went so far as to observe that, being the servant and subject of the king, monsieur my brother, and treating him so harshly, he could not be faithful to me if he interfered to give me any good advice or counsel for the benefit of his kingdom and mine, since my interest and that of the king were directly opposite. However, at last, he went away quite contented and satisfied. I have forwarded by him a very pacific letter to the Queen of England, to soften her as much as lies in my power.

If they proceed to the said treaty for my liberty, I earnestly wish that you might be appointed on

behalf of the king, monsieur my good brother, as I request of him, in my letters inclosed herein to my ambassador, by Monsieur de Seton. If the Earls of Angus, Mar, Gohory [Gowrie], and others of the conspiracy, have already proceeded so far as you tell me, there is no longer any possibility of entering into negotiation with them, as Archibal Du Glas [Douglas] proposed to you, in order to bring them back to my interest; therefore I would not, in any way whatever, serve them for a shield against my son, as they formerly boasted that he did for them against me; and of course there is no other means of treating with them but their submission to my son, estrangement and rupture with our enemies in this kingdom and all others, and assurances of their true and complete amendment; upon these conditions I promise to do all that lies in my power to obtain their pardon and reinstatement, which will be better secured to them in this way, than if gained by force.

And if Archibal Du Glas should persevere in going into Scotland, contrary to the advice I sent him through you, charge him to strive to prevail upon the earls and rebels to lay down their arms, and to obtain the permission from the Queen of England to send to my son, in company with one of her own people and court, if possible, with

yourself, that, under the authority of the king, monsieur my good brother, hers, and mine, all affairs may be adjusted in that quarter into some solid peace and firm union of our subjects with one another, and of them with my said son, and for this purpose I could recommend the said Du Glas, and do for him all that she shall require; but, above all, let him not know, in any way whatever, that you hold the slightest secret communication with me; for I perceive, that the negotiations which Walsingham keeps up with you have no other object but to discover, from the replies you make in my name, if you still have any secret means of communicating with me; and, therefore, never admit, if you please, either to the said Archibal, or to any other person whatever, that you write to me any longer in this manner; but leave them to judge and imagine what they please, how you become acquainted with my intentions.

My host[e] is more than ever in doubt and suspense respecting leave to go to court; yet his desire to do so increases daily, thinking, as I imagine, to exculpate himself from the calumnies of his enemies, and force himself to be acknowledged what he is. The worst, I fear, from this journey is that, during his absence, I may be removed hence, or even that he may be persuaded to consent to it; it

[e] The Earl of Shrewsbury.

is, therefore, very important that you should prevent this, if you please; and, at any rate, take care that I may not be put into a hostile and suspicious hand, as I was before. I have informed you of the interpretation put upon the meeting between the Earl of Rutland and my host, which originates only with the good lady of Chatisiorth, who has ever been an enemy to the said Earl of Rutland, own nephew to my host by his first wife, the proximity of this relationship being of itself a sufficient and plausible reason for the said meeting, without its being imputed to me. I hear that Lord Talbot was there likewise, but more in body than in heart; or, if his heart went thither, it was only the half, as it is not his nature to give the whole, or ever to stop in one place.

It is not in my power to enlighten you on what has been represented to the Queen of England respecting the language made use of by young Seton, when at Bordeaux, about a marriage between the Catholic king and me; as I was not even aware that the said de Seton had been in Spain, and much less on what errand he went thither, so that I can with truth disavow all he may have said or done.

I commit to your prudence the safeguard of my secret despatches, promising to reimburse you whatever you may pay on this account to couriers and

others whom you may employ, whatever it may be; and, therefore, henceforward charge it to my account under the head of gold or silver thread sent to me. From Sheffeil, this last day of April 1584.

What follows is from Nau to M. de Mauvissière.

Sir, I hope that Monsieur de Joyeuse has duly received the despatch forwarded to him by M. Marron, and that he will, with as frank and good affection, urge the king for some redress of the affairs of her majesty, which have great need of his favour and influence. A report has reached us that monsieur the duke is dead; but I shall not believe it, until we receive advice of it from you. Monsieur Vade and I commenced our acquaintance rather roughly, on account of the blows that he struck at our France, and at you in particular, which I thought it was my duty at least to parry; and I did so, and will do while I live, whatever may happen, as it is impossible for me to be either in heart or in words other than I was born. The conclusion was very calm and friendly; we became sworn brothers; for which reason I beg the more earnestly that he may never know that you have had wind of his behaviour here.

I have paved the way to your overture respecting the disposal of the county of Chaumont, and hope

to bring it to bear, if Monsieur de Joyeuse will in good earnest loosen his purse-strings. Without wishing for the death of another, I should be glad to see you peaceable possessor of your bailiwick, as I think you will be shortly.

Pardon me for not having sent you the letter of Madame de St. Pierre; the departure of the said Marron and Vade having been so sudden, that I was obliged to sit up all night about their despatch. If you write to Monsieur de Joyeuse, I beg you to assure him of my desire to pay to him my most humble service.

The following is a Postscript by the Queen of Scots.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, since writing the above, I have received intelligence that the Queen of England has the intention to despatch shortly the Earl of Derby and some other lords to the king monsieur my good brother, that, under colour of conveying to him the garter of the order of this country, they may negotiate with him a league, offensive and defensive, against all other kings and princes of Christendom; and, in case it should be carried into effect, I beg you to represent, on my behalf, to the king the just cause I shall have to think myself neglected and abandoned by him, as the said Queen of England, on many occasions, and recently by Vade, would fain have persuaded me; if I and my

son be not included in the said league, and if provision be not made for my liberty, and for the safety of my son's person and crown in Scotland; and if, by the said league, any thing be agreed upon and stipulated to the prejudice of the ancient league between France and Scotland, for the removal of which Monsieur de Seton is, as I have heard, charged to treat. I will not enter into a detail of the many cogent reasons which ought to withhold the king monsieur my good brother from so close a friendship, believing him to be too discreet to act otherwise than his conscience and the general good of the church shall dictate. I will only say, that if monsieur the duke my brother-in-law is dead, as report says, this league will but tend to strengthen and secure the King of Navarre against the king monsieur my good brother, who can himself derive but little fruit or advantage from it. There is a report of the apprehension of the Earl of Gohory in Scotland. I beg you to inquire into the truth of this, and to do all that lies in your power to make this queen give up the scheme.

1584. *June* 10. Execution of Francis Throgmorton in London; death of the Duke of Anjou in France.

June —, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, apprehended.

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière.

Monsieur, since writing the enclosed, Beale has left this place, and, having written you by him so amply about the obstacles which have occurred, I will not repeat any thing to you, unless that the report which he has made of my replies, and negociations with him, has been most maliciously wrested and misconstrued by some of this council. He has not been less angry than myself, for I never said those things, as they have been taken, nor did he ever report or represent them in that way. Walsingham has done, I believe, like all his fellows in matters of religion: he has garbled and falsified the text. Prosecute your journey to me, and hence to Scotland, with those whom this queen and myself shall depute to accompany you; which is the only plan that I can approve for the said journey, which, if thus performed, will be very agreeable to me, and place me under great obligation to you; but, otherwise, it would be highly prejudicial for several reasons, some of which I have made you acquainted with; and, if there were no others but the reinstatement of the rebels, to be effected by my intercession, and not without me, it would be sufficient to induce me to prevent their said reinstatement, were I not of the party. Speak of this on my behalf to Archibal Du Glas

and promise him, in my name, that if he can bring this journey to bear in that manner, I will exert all my efforts in favour of the Earl of Anguis and himself.

I recommend to you once more the S^r. de la Tour, for whose life, as I have already written to you, I will answer, as also the pardon of the said Earl of Anguis; but it is necessary that this should be managed skilfully, and in an indirect manner, without my name being either made use of, or insinuated, and as if it originated with the said Archibal Du Glas, or you. From Sheffeild, this last of May, 1584.

N. B. The copy from which this letter is transcribed, is in the hand-writing of Castelnau's secretary. It appears to be the copy of a letter from the Queen of Scots to Castelnau.

1584. *September* 20. The Scotch parliament, in spite of the intercession of Elizabeth, confiscates all the property belonging to the Scotch rebels who have taken refuge in England.

The English faction in Scotland being reduced to a state of impotence, Elizabeth appears disposed to come to an accommodation with Mary Stuart. Gray, Earl of Marr, goes to London on the part of James VI., and Nau on behalf of his mother, to treat on the subject, under the mediation of the French Ambassador.

The Queen of Scots to the same.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, although, on account of the uncertainty in which I remain respecting the

treaty with the Queen of England, I cannot give you any certain information about it, still, I will not omit to advise you, by the brief summary herewith enclosed, what has taken place between the deputies of the Queen of England and myself; but, as they have required me not to mention it to any one, and most especially neither to the king, monsieur my good brother, nor to you, I beg you to keep it as secret as you can, until matters are farther advanced, either to a rupture or a conclusion; so that they may not have it in their power to charge me with having divulged any thing contrary to their desire and request. Nevertheless, you can confide it to my brother, to whom I have enclosed a letter, sending him in this the ring, respecting which, to my great regret, he has expressed himself displeased with you.

I am informed for certain that Captain Stuart has been expressly charged by this queen to persuade my son to break off all alliance with France, and to enter into a league with this queen, proposed and urged very strenuously by the secretary Dunfermiling, upon pretext of supporting their religion; but I have written very firmly to the contrary, as well to my said son, as to the principal persons of the good party who are about him; so that I hope it will come to nothing. The convention was to have been held on the 26th of

last month, to consult on the negotiations with which the said Stuart was charged on his return from this country. It is said that my son has determined upon setting himself at liberty, and disbanding his new guard as soon as he shall find himself in a place of safety.

I beg you to intercede on my behalf with the king, monsieur my good brother, that he may be pleased to favour the children of the Duke of Lenox, in particular the eldest, especially for the journey which he is about making to Scotland: rely upon it, that, young as he is, he will be able greatly to strengthen the French faction, if the estates of his late father be secured to him. It would also be well if the king, monsieur my good brother, would confer some pension or gratuity on Lord Haumilton, the machinations and intrigues of this queen with him, and his brother aiming, upon pretext of their restoration, to attach them to her party.

Tell Archibal Du Glas from me that I have been informed on good authority, that this queen has no intention to send him to Scotland; and, therefore, it is my opinion that he may accept any appointment he can get from her, striving by all possible demonstrations to persuade Walsingham that he is well affected towards the Queen of England; that, if possible, he may discover their intention respect-

ing me and my son; and henceforward desire him, in my name, when in conferring with the said Walsingham the conversation turns upon the treaty for my liberty, to sound what opinion he holds; and, if he discovers any thing, inform me of it, if you please, by the first opportunity. I beg you also to favour me with your good advice respecting the terms of the said treaty, as you have long had great experience in such matters in this country. Nevertheless, if you find that the business is likely to be spun out to a great length, insist urgently, according to my last by Beale, on a final arrangement one way or the other, and, if this cannot be effected within the time mentioned, let it, at least, be done immediately afterwards, without further delay, for I will no longer be deceived by vain hopes.

The honour of monsieur the duke, and the sincerity of Monsieur de Biron, have been much compromised in this last defeat of the English in the Low Countries. Let me know what answer you have from the said S^r^. duke, as respects his reconciliation with his Catholic majesty, and what has become of his brother Charles.

This letter is transcribed from a copy in the hand-writing of Mauvissière's secretary. It has no date; but the subjects of which it treats prove it to have been written in the year 1584.

M. de Mauvissière to the Queen of Scots.

Madam, since writing last evening to your majesty, thinking that this letter would go off incontinently, but, being now in doubt whether it will ever reach you, I have dined familiarly with the Earl of Lestre and his wife,[f] of whom he is very fond, and both of them treated me most kindly, offering to renew our former friendship, and requesting that his said wife and mine might be friends, to which I assented. After dinner the said earl took me out to walk, and disclosed to me his whole heart towards your said majesty, protesting that he had never been adverse, but that he had now lost all credit with his mistress, with France, and with your majesty; and that, as for the Earl of Hontinton, he would be the first to make war upon him, and to spend all he has to prevent him from undertaking any thing against your majesty; that he would be always ready, in case his mistress should die, to render you signal service, as would likewise all his relatives and friends, and he begged me, if I had the means, to assure you of this, but to let no one else know it, otherwise it would be his ruin; and, further, that the said queen is going to give you some answer, and to come to an arrangement with your majesty, if your son behaves affectionately to you. Nevertheless, the said Queen

[f] The Earl of Leicester and his second wife.

Lairé

of England is very jealous of those in this kingdom who are attached to both; and it is on this account that the Sr. de Walsingham had like to have got into trouble, which is the reason why he disguises the good-will which he entertains for you. The said earl also told me, that, as to the Earl of Cherosbery [Shrewsbury] and the countess his wife, they are continually writing hither the worst they can of each other, and that your majesty's interest suffers in consequence, and he said that he ardently desires nothing more than your comfort, and not to quarrel with the said earl, if matters can be adjusted between them. In short, madam, the said earl never promised more for the service of your majesty than at present, and the way to keep him in this favourable disposition is to entertain his wife, and to assure them that you will be their friend.

Inform me if you wish to keep them in the disposition to serve you, for, if he is not a very great hypocrite, he seems to me to have the inclination to do so, but desires that no person living may know of it, not even the said Walsingham. This is what I have hastily added to my letters, and to what I have desired Courcelles to write to you respecting the deposition of the Sr. de la Tour.

This letter is copied from a minute, which is entirely in the hand-writing of Castelnau.

M. de Mauvissière to the Queen of Scots.

Madam, this epistle is to acquaint your majesty, that I have been informed that the Queen of England has manifested extreme jealousy on hearing that Lord Talbot, the Earl of Roteland, and all the nobility in your neighbourhood, had met a few days ago, and promised firm friendship, not only for the present but for the future; and this has excited in the said queen such suspicion and anger, that if she could ruin them all she would do it, thinking that it is on your account they have associated. On the other hand, it is reported here that Lord Talbot is still adverse to you. I have also been assured that the said queen has resolved upon removing you, at any rate, from the custody of your host, and, under pretext of recommencing a treaty for your liberty, to send Midlemay and the chevalier Revel to conduct you to Herford castle, which is twenty miles distant from hence, and to send for your host and his wife to this court, under colour of giving them some appointment and reconciling them[g], and to give you, at the said Herford, a new household, new servants, and keepers, and to remove you from those who are thought to be too good friends to you in

g The Countess of Shrewsbury had for some time been jealous of the Queen of Scotland.

the vicinity of Chefie [Sheffield] and towards the north.

I shall make further inquiry on this subject, and go to-morrow to the Queen of England to speak to her about it, and to remonstrate, that it is neither right nor reasonable to subject you to a new change, or to remove you from the custody of a nobleman who has always been so faithful to her; and I will try whether I can in some way or other prevent this blow. Write about it also, in your own name, to the said queen and her council. I have been told that the said Midlemay and Revel begged to decline this commission. These people here are so false and double-faced in all they say, that it is impossible to put any faith in them.

For my part, madam, I consider your majesty cannot be removed from your present keeper to the custody of any other in this kingdom, whoever he may be, without danger, great annoyance, and inconvenience, whereupon I can only say I will do all that lies in my humble power to render you good and faithful service, and in executing all that you shall ever be pleased to command me. I must not forget to inform you that the King of Spain has written a letter, with his own hand, to Don Bernardin de Mendosse[h], approving all that he has

[h] Mendoça, ambassador of Philip II.

done here, and still refusing to see W...[1], who had been sent to him from this country, saying that he would have nothing to do with that heretic; and he has sent to the said Don Bernardin a bill of exchange for four thousand ducats, ordering him to await his commands, which he should forward by another courier.

Take care, on your part, madam, not to fall into the hands of your enemies. I will do all I can on mine. Write to the high treasurer, and send me the letter. He is, after all, the best, and listens to reason.

1584. *October* —. Creighton, the jesuit, and Abdy, a Scotch priest, are taken at sea by an English cruizer, and carried to the Tower of London. On being put to the torture, they disclose all the particulars of the projected invasion for the deliverance of the Queen of Scotland; all negociations are again suspended.

October —. Mary Stuart is removed to Wingfield.

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, I sent you a very long despatch on the last day of the past month, and, since that, another on the 18th of the present, to demand that I may be cleared and exculpated by a public examination and declaration of the Countess of Shereusbury, from the false reports she has circulated respecting me and her husband. If the

[1] This name is torn in the manuscript.

whole has not been delivered to you, apply for it, that you may have occasion to proceed as I desired you, and remonstrate in my name. The principal point that I have now to write to you upon is my removal from this place, which, I am told, is resolved upon, either into the custody of that good man, Sir Raff Sadler, or..... Be this as it may, I beg you, in the name of monsieur the king, monsieur my good brother, and on my own behalf, to insist as strongly as you can, without relaxing on account of any excuse they may allege, that, before I am taken out of the hands of the said Earl of Shereusbury, I may, as I have desired, be fully satisfied and cleared from the said reports, which I will not have tacitly confirmed in the public opinion by my separation from the said earl. 2dly. That he, in whose custody I may be placed, shall not be one of the pretenders against me or my son to this crown, nor a dependent of theirs, as my life would not be safe in such hands. 3dly. That he be a person of such authority, influence, and power, that in any event, either of the death of the Queen of England, or any other, he may be capable of protecting me against my enemies. 4thly. That the name of him who shall be appointed be notified to me, to know whether I have any objection to make against him on the ground of my personal safety. And in case that the

said queen, my good sister, should desire to have the whole left to her choice, as knowing better than I her own subjects, and those whom she can trust, it may easily be urged in reply, that she may perhaps be deceived by the representations of my enemies about her, and that, after she shall have heard my remonstrances, I will leave the final determination to her. 5thly. That my said new keeper shall deliver to me letters by the hand of the said queen, conveying an express declaration of her intentions touching my said removal, and that she answer for their integrity and duty, and for the safety of my life in such custody; for I will not, in such an innovation, especially affecting my life and my condition, and consequently those of my son, suffer myself to be governed by any person but the said queen herself. Otherwise she may be assured beforehand that she shall never take me hence but by force. 6thly. That I must know, if possible, before the said removal, what has been finally resolved upon in regard to the treaty for my liberty, whether it be a positive refusal and entire rupture, or an assured determination of proceeding and coming speedily to a final resolution. There can now be no plea for delaying this any longer, for Mr. Gray having been heard on behalf of my son, they cannot expect any more particular answer or explanation of his intention or mine on

this subject. Meanwhile hasten, I beg you, with all the diligence you possibly can, the journey of Nau, and speak of it in particular, and in my name, to ..... reminding him .....

I recommend to you the said Gray, and all his negociations, and that in any thing wherein he may need your aid and assistance, and the intercession of the king monsieur my good brother, you would help him, and especially if, in the next parliament, the right of succession to this crown be discussed, deliver to him a copy of the remonstrances which I formerly sent you on this subject, so that he may make representations with you on the part of my son, in our common name. If he obtains permission to come to me, I should be very glad if you could send Courcelles along with him, and in this case do not forget to inform the said Courcelles of all your ideas, opinions, and good counsels on my situation and affairs .....

Do, if you please, all the good offices you can for that poor Jesuit, who, I hear, has been recently taken; not that I am afraid of his disclosing any communications of mine with him, as I have never had any upon any subject whatever, but for the preservation of the privileges and rights of foreign nations, it being a proceeding of too great consequence, that the subjects of a friendly king passing on the seas should be taken and so treated, as even

to be put to the torture; the king monsieur my good brother being bound by the ancient league between France and Scotland to assist us in this affair. And this being all that I can say to you at present, as I am in haste to send off this despatch, I will conclude with my affectionate recommendations, praying God to have you, Monsieur de Mauvissière, in his holy keeping. Winfield, this xxxth day of October, 1584.

1584. *October.* An association is formed in England for bringing to condign punishment, not only the persons who may conspire against Elizabeth, but those in whose favour such plots may be framed.

October 31. The statement relative to this association is read to Mary Stuart, who proposes to join it.

December —. Parry, a secret agent of Burleigh, having gained the confidence of Morgan in Paris, returns to London, and informs against him and his accomplices.

1585. *January* 5. Mary Stuart signs an engagement, by which she declares that all persons who make attempts against the life or the power of Queen Elizabeth shall be prosecuted by her unto death.

January 13. She is removed from Wingfield to Tutbury.

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, I think it very strange to be so long without hearing from you, particularly after the last despatch which I sent you, which makes me doubt whether it has been delivered to you with the necessary diligence. I am now writing to the Queen of England, madam my good sister, for permission to send into Scotland, otherwise I am not sure to receive any information respecting

the intentions of my son, as my letter, which I sent to obtain this, agreeably to the order that was given me, was so tardily forwarded to him, that it cannot be of any avail against the persuasions to the contrary, which there will, meanwhile, be abundant opportunity to give my son. I therefore beg you affectionately to urge, as warmly as you can, that my request respecting the said mission to Scotland may be complied with, having no other means so certain and expeditious of learning the state of affairs in that quarter, because upon that depends all that we have begun to treat of here. I beg you also not to forget the attendants that I have again applied for, namely, two ladies for my chamber, two gentlemen, and two valets de chambre, that I may be sure of their passports, as I shall bring them either from France or Scotland; but, above all, the establishment of a small stud of twelve horses, besides my coach, it being impossible for me to take the air without them, since I am unable to walk fifty paces together. I told you before how greatly I stand in need of money, which again compels me to importune you to forward to me as early as you possibly can whatever my treasurer may remit to you, either by bank or otherwise, having written to him earnestly on this subject in the enclosed despatch, which I beg you to send to him by the first opportunity. I hope you have received the order

to send the xi^c^ [1100] livres; but, to this moment, nothing has yet arrived here; it would help me on the road, as they say. Remember me to my *commère*, your lady, and remind her to send me an answer to what I lately asked of her; that is, to engage me a lady of middle age, and one younger, if she knows any one that will suit me. Meanwhile, I pray God to have you, Monsieur de Mauvissière, in his holy and worthy keeping. Tuthbury, this vith February, 1585.

M. de Mauvissière, I beg you to inquire diligently concerning him or them, who are to supersede those in whose custody I now am. I dare say you perfectly recollect the remonstrances which, in such a case, I formerly desired you to make to the queen, madam my good sister, and conformably with which the king monsieur my brother-in-law, and the queen madam my mother-in-law, were pleased to charge you to make solicitation in their name. You know of what importance this may be to me. I hope that you will not be less assiduous than formerly. I am so pressed to get the despatch ready for sending off, the courier being on the point of setting out, that I am writing this whilst at dinner, which will serve for my excuse until the first opportunity.

Your much obliged and best friend,

MARY R.

1585. *February* —. Parry himself is apprehended, and brought to trial on the accusation of Nevil, another agent of the English ministry.

February 25. Sentence of death pronounced upon Parry; he is executed a few days afterwards.

March 9. Elizabeth sends the order of the Garter to Henry III., and demands the delivery of Morgan. The king, not daring to refuse altogether, orders him to be confined in the Bastille; and all his papers to be given to the English ambassador.

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, the principal object of this despatch is to beg you to make more urgent representations than ever, in order to the prosecution of your journey to Scotland, and of two others with you on behalf of the Queen of England madam my good sister and myself, to remove completely all the difficulties in that quarter which might prevent or delay the advance of the treaty begun between us; for, till I know for certain, from the lips of my son himself, his intentions touching his association to the crown of Scotland and conjunction with me to the said treaty, I shall adhere to my original determination not to pass and enact any thing without him, or to receive, through any other channel whatsoever, any thing that shall come from him by message or in writing, as his, and as proceeding from his own movement and inclination. I never will do it, having, in time past, had too much proof and experience of his entire duty and

good disposition towards me to be lightly persuaded that he can now be so much changed by the practices and the persuasion of my enemies, as well in this country as about him. I have written freely what I think on the subject to the said queen my good sister in my enclosed letters, which I request you to deliver to her from me, urging, as much as I can, that journey, and representing to her how necessary your prudence is there for upholding the said association as made, and principally upon the advice and counsel of the king your master, monsieur my good brother, and of the queen my mother-in-law, they having been the first and the only persons who persuaded me to it.

Exert yourself, on your part, by all means in your power, to bring about your said journey to Scotland, and, if possible, to this place; but it is necessary to be expeditious, lest things in Scotland should become irremediable. Meanwhile, if you learn that it is in contemplation to make a change in my keeper, I beg you to interpose the name and credit of my said lord and brother to prevent it, so that no alteration be made till the said queen my good sister has taken a final resolution touching the treaty, as it cannot be otherwise but that in two months, at latest, things must be sufficiently settled both in Scotland and elsewhere for a speedy end to be put to them, as the state of my health,

so impaired by an imprisonment of seventeen years, requires more than ever. I place entire confidence in the said queen my good sister, whose good disposition I perceive, and learn to know better from day to day, by her honourable conduct towards me in what proceeds from her own movement; but, on the other hand, I must confess that I am grieved to the heart by the crosses which I have to endure, but especially by the estrangement of my son from me, and his being set against me; praying God to let me die rather than learn for certain that such a thing can be.

It would not be amiss, I think, if, by the first opportunity you have of writing to Scotland, you would intimate to my son that I have requested you, in case he refuses the legitimate title and authority of king in association with me, as he has written to the Queen of England madam my good sister to cease to give him that title in all negotiations in this country, and that I will take steps to cause the same course to be followed in all parts of Christendom to which my influence extends; nay, even give him my everlasting malediction, and deprive him, as far as in me lies, of all the grandeur which he can claim in this world in my right, leaving him only that of his father to enjoy; for I think no punishment, divine or human, can equal such enormous ingratitude, if he is guilty of it, as to choose

rather to possess by force and tyrannically that which justly belongs to me, and to which he cannot have any right but through me, than of my good-will and free gift. Moreover, I request you to thank the said queen my good sister, in my name, for the honourable care which she demonstrates to me that she takes that I should be well accommodated in this country, both in regard to servants and other necessary things; but, as the principal thing that can contribute to the recovery and preservation of my health is to take the air abroad, which I can now only do on horseback, I must employ your solicitation to procure me some order for the sixteen horses for which I have already applied, as well for myself as for some of my women and others of my servants, who will have to accompany me; the expense cannot be great; and this I should esteem the principal gratification in my whole treatment from this time forward.

As for the new servants that have been granted me, I thank Mr. de Walsyngham for them. You will once more request him, if you please, to give you assurance of their passports when they arrive, agreeably to the enclosed memorandum, for I cannot specify their names, because that depends on the choice made by my ambassador and others, to whom I shall address myself in France. Learn, in par-

ticular, if Nau's brother will be permitted to come hither from Scotland, where I think he still is at present; and, in this case, I beg you to send to him the enclosure, which I have written to him, desiring him to come. His good qualities and the assistance which his brother will receive from him, in matters relating to my service and his office, make me the more desirous of this, and I shall feel an especial obligation to the said de Walsyngham for it.

I am very sorry for the tardiness and delay of my treasurer in paying the money you have lent me, it being purely and entirely his fault; for, as I have arranged my affairs, he cannot, on any occasion whatever, plead in excuse that he has not funds for such demands as are for my own person, and which he ought to discharge every year before any others, whatever they may be. In the month of May last, when I received by Beale the remainder of that sum of fifteen hundred crowns, since increased by three hundred, which he remits for payment, I signified to him in a letter, in my own hand, the receipt of the said sum, and ordered him most expressly to discharge it without delay, according to the order for the purpose delivered at the time to Bauldouyn, because he had been the bearer of part of the said sum, and Wadde even declared lately, in the presence of Nau and Cou-

celles, that he recollected that such an order was found among the papers of the said Bauldouin. Now, Monsieur de Mauvissière, in order to repay all that I have hitherto received from you, I have written a line to my said treasurer, in language as positive and peremptory as I can, as you may see yourself; and you may be assured that I am highly displeased to find myself so ill obeyed in that quarter. Let, I request you, payment be obtained from Mazzy, the banker, of the two thousand crowns which the said Chaulnez has remitted through him, and find means to forward them to me, with the xi^{c} [1100] crowns, either by means of M^{r}. Walsyngham, or by the next carrier, whom you may find to be coming to this quarter; for I cannot do without them any longer. In a month's time, several servants of Sir Raff Sadler's are coming hither from London; the money might be sent by them; or, that way failing, M^{r}. de Walsyngham might order it to be paid here by one of the receivers of the queen my good sister in these parts, which would be the most prompt, easy, and safe method. I thank you for the choice you give me of your people to come hither to serve me, and will make up my mind about it between this and my next despatch. I have been much pleased with the head-dresses which my *commère*, your good wife, has sent me. God grant her a happy de-

livery, and have you both in his holy and worthy keeping. Tuttbury, the xith day of March, 1585.

Your entirely best friend,

MARY R.

1585. *March* —. Sir Amyas Pawlet appointed keeper of Mary Stuart.

March 24. The Queen of Scotland being informed that Gray, her son's envoy, was betraying her interests, resolves to deprive James VI. of all rights which he holds from her.

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, you have seen by my last, which I forwarded by Monsieur Sommers, how much I was grieved to be so long without receiving any news from you. The same day that he left this place arrived a packet from you, addressed to Nau, in which I found a single letter for me, of the xxvith of April, making mention of another large despatch that I have not yet received. I beg you will urge that it be speedily forwarded to me, as I am in expectation to have news by it, concerning the business of my dower. And I will defer writing to those of my council in France, until I receive the said despatch. I should, moreover, be glad to know particularly how you have proceeded with the Queen of England, madam my good sister, relative to the points which I some time since recommended to your attention, not having heard any thing on the subject, through any channel whatever. I have given to the aforesaid Sommer a memorial, which he will show

to you, that you may, if you please, have the matter followed up, being sure that he will need your assistance. Above all, persist in this my determined importunity to be clearly resolved of the intention of the said queen my good sister, relative to my deliverance or detention in this captivity, not desiring to remain altogether bound by offers and conditions so strict as I proposed in the utmost sincerity, and by orders, rules, and regulations more precise and rigorous than ever in this new prison; for, no doubt, it will be very difficult for good-will and force ever to unite in me; and the said queen my good sister will never find, not only as regards myself, but in all other things which may depend on me elsewhere, so much security in the close custody of any one whatever to whom she may commit my body, as in my heart, my faith, and my promises, none of which I have ever yet broken; being, I protest to you, more grieved, vexed, and uncomfortable to find that, do what I will, I cannot induce her to place any confidence in me, than on account of my imprisonment itself, and the severities by which she thinks the better to secure me.

I thank you affectionately for your loan of two thousand crowns, which you sent me by the S^r^. Darell, and for the reimbursement of which sum I enclose you an order on my treasurer, which I have drawn for the wages of my officers, whom I found

to be in such great need that I was obliged to give them that. For the satisfaction of my said treasurer, you will see the note that I have written with my own hand, under the aforesaid order. I am greatly displeased that Gozzy has of late been so negligent in his correspondence. I believe you have seen what I have written at different times to my said treasurer, to obviate such severities and abatements which he ought not to practise in any thing that concerns my own person. Wherefore I am afraid to importune you further, and to contract more debts over there, though my revenue for the whole of this year is in arrear; the which if you receive from my said treasurer, or if you can assist me by obtaining money from the French merchants, with their goods, as you wrote to me, try to prevail on Mr. High Treasurer, or Mr. Walsingham, to write to Sir Amyas Paulet, to draw as much as you may deliver over to them from abroad from the hands of the receiver of this province, and to pay it to me here; about this, I think, they will not make any difficulty, as it would cause them neither loss nor inconvenience that I can apprehend.

Moreover, among other innovations made here, I complain, through you, to the queen madam my good sister, that the said S^r^. Paulet would not permit me, a few days since, to send some trifling alms, according to my means, to the poor of this

village; which, indeed, I cannot but impute to very strange rigour, as it is a pious work, and one which no Christian can disapprove of; and in which the said Sr. Paulet might take such precautions, and send with my man such of his servants or soldiers as he pleases, or even the constable of the village, as to leave no cause or ground for complaint or suspicion; so that, having by these means provided for the safety of his charge, it appears to me wrong to debar me from a christian work that might afford me consolation amidst sickness and affliction, without giving offence or being prejudicial to any person whatever. Remonstrate about this, I beg of you, in my name, with the Queen my good sister, and request her to command Sr. Paulet not to treat me in this manner, as there never was a criminal or prisoner, however vile, low, or abject, to whom this permission has ever been by any law denied.

I am very sorry to learn from you the likelihood of fresh troubles in France, and still more, that my relatives are so deeply involved in them; but I hope that the King, Monsieur my brother-in-law, who is a prince, full of zeal for his religion and of love for his subjects, will find means to put a stop to them, and timely, with the prudence of the Queen, madam my mother-in-law, as nothing can result from such divisions but a great convulsion of their kingdom.

But my present personal misery presses upon me so heavily and so long as to give sufficient occupation to my thoughts, without my thinking on the evils that threaten to others. Wherefore, leaving all to the inscrutable providence of God, before whom the wisdom and the designs of men are but a mere illusion, I pray him to grant the King my said lord and brother a happy continuation of his reign, and to have you, M. de Mauvissière, in his holy and worthy keeping. From Tuthbury, the xvth day of May, 1585.

Your much obliged and very best friend,

MARY.

Memorial addressed by the Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Sent by M. Sommers.

The Queen of Scotland beseeches the Queen of England her good sister to give her an answer to the three last letters which she has written to her, especially touching a final and clear determination on the treaty for her liberty, respecting which, for reasons she has amply explained to the said Sr. Sommer, she begs more earnestly than ever that it may please the said Queen her good sister to negociate separately with her, without any intervention on the part of Scotland.

That, to settle those matters which formerly led

to differences between her and her son, she may be permitted to send some one to him, accompanied by the French ambassador, agreeably to the most express commission which he has to this effect from the King his master.

That the ordinary communication which she has hitherto had with the said ambassador may be continued; and, accordingly, directions given for the more diligent despatch of their packets, as well on the one part as the other; nothing passing between them that can in any way prove prejudicial to this kingdom.

That her household establishment here be determined upon and fixed; in order that, as the said Queen her good sister has been pleased to assure her, she may take her into her own keeping, and into her own house: also, that from her alone she may receive her allowance in this country.

That a second house may be granted her to remove to on finishing her course of diet, or next autumn, at latest; it being quite impossible, without great detriment to her health, to live in winter in the two rooms which she has here for the whole of her lodgings, which are built of wood, old, full of holes, and tumbling down on all sides, and having no sheltered place whatever to walk in or retire to.

That, in regard to the servants allowed her, and that they may not have the trouble of travelling

hither in vain, it be declared whether she shall be permitted to bring over any she may choose, as she might select some from the household of Guise, having no other acquaintance in France, through whom to get them.

And that, as for ordinary varlets, her servants may be permitted to employ Englishmen, so as to avoid the frequent coming and going of such persons, whom it is difficult to retain.

Done at Tuthbury, the xth of May, 1585.

This memorial is to be found in Castelnau, vol. i., p. 627. It is introduced here as connected with the foregoing letter, and as completing the instructions of the Queen.

The Queen of Scots to M. Antoine de Chaulnes.

The Queen of Scotland, Dowager of France.

Monsieur Antoine de Chaulnes, treasurer and receiver-general of our finances, we command you to pay and deliver, in ready money, to M. de Mauvissière, chevalier of the order of his most Christian king, our very dear and much honoured brother-in-law, and his ordinary ambassador in this kingdom, the sum of two thousand crowns, in repayment of the like sum, which we certify to have been furnished and sent by him to this place, Tuthbury, for the payment of wages of the officers about our

person for the year ending the last day of December m.v^{c}iiii^{xx} and four, and on delivery of this, our present order, with the receipt of the said M. de Mauvissière. We will that the said sum of two thousand crowns be passed and allowed in the statement of your accounts by our dear and faithful counsellors, the auditors, whom we command to do this without any difficulty. For such is our pleasure. Given at the castle of Tuthbury in England, the xvth of May, 1585.

MARY R.

NAU.

I have ordered this sum to be applied to the payment of wages of my officers, who are here, for the last year, preferring their necessities to my own; and, in future, do not fail to send in time and apart what is appropriated for them, agreeably to the particular statement which you will receive. That which has been received for the last year has not been without very urgent necessity. Give orders that I may, with all diligence, be furnished, as heretofore I desired you, with the two thousand crowns for myself, and the five hundred for my stable.

MARY R.

1585. *June* 20. The Earl of Northumberland is murdered in the Tower of London.

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, since my last letter, I have heard that you have obtained for me over there

xv^{c} [1500 crowns], and that you will send me as much as three thousand on my furnishing you with an order for that amount; considering, on the other hand, the extreme need I have of it at present, not having yet received any thing from my treasurer for the whole of this year, I have resolved to send you an order for the sum of iii^{m} iii^{c} xxxiii [3333] crowns, the which my said treasurer ought to furnish me for myself for this said year, according to the account which I send to him with the present despatch, and that out of the first clear moneys he shall receive, and on the authority of this, so that your reimbursement will not be on any account delayed. But I shall not fail to remember the very particular obligation I owe you, and to return it the very first opportunity that shall present itself. And as this has no other object, I shall pray God, M. de Mauvissière, to have you in his holy and worthy keeping. Tuthbury, xiith of July, 1585.

Your much obliged and best friend,

MARY R.

1585. *September.* M. l'Aubespine de Chateauneuf succeeds M. de Mauvissière as French ambassador.

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière and M. de Chasteauneuf.

Gentlemen, foreseeing that your answer to my last will be some time before it reaches me, I have

thought it best, without waiting for it, to impart to you my just complaints concerning what Sir Amyas has been directed to signify to me, touching the memorial which I have sent you, which amounts, in fact, to an absolute refusal of the principal requests contained in it, namely, those relating to the change and conveniences of dwelling, intelligence concerning the affairs of my dowry by the Sieur de Cherelles, and the increase of the number of my servants—things, though trifling and of no importance to the Queen of England madam my good sister, yet so necessary for the preservation of my life and health, so mainly contributing to the few comforts that are left me in this world, and to my consolation between these four walls (where I perceive more clearly from day to day that they are determined to reduce me to the last extremity), that, but for the very urgent need I have of them, I should not have stooped to beg for them with such earnest and persevering supplications, that I think I could not have bought them at a dearer rate; regretting exceedingly that, for all the duty I have imposed upon myself to please the said queen in every thing and in every place, so little consideration and respect is paid to my honour and content in the matter of my state and treatment here.

To give you, then, ocular proof of the situation in which I find myself in regard to dwelling in the

first place, and that you may remonstrate in my behalf on the subject with the said queen (who, I presume, has never been accurately informed about it); I will tell you that I am in a walled enclosure, on the top of a hill, exposed to all the winds and the inclemencies of heaven; within the said enclosure, resembling that of the wood of Vincennes, there is a very old hunting-lodge, built of timber and plaster, cracked in all parts, the plaster adhering nowhere to the wood-work, and broken in numberless places; the said lodge distant three fathoms or thereabouts from the wall, and situated so low, that the rampart of earth which is behind the wall is on a level with the highest point of the building, so that the sun can never shine upon it on that side, nor any fresh air come to it; for which reason it is so damp, that you cannot put any piece of furniture in that part without its being in four days completely covered with mould. I leave you to think how this must act upon the human body; and, in short, the greater part of it is rather a dungeon for base and abject criminals than a habitation fit for a person of my quality, or even of a much lower. I am sure that there is not a nobleman in this kingdom, nor even one of those who, being inferior to noblemen, wish to reduce me beneath themselves, who would not deem it a tyrannical punishment to be obliged to live for a year in so strait-

ened and inconvenient a habitation, as they want to force and constrain me to do; and the only apartments that I have for my own person consist—and for the truth of this I can appeal to all those who have been here — of two little miserable rooms, so excessively cold, especially at night, that but for the ramparts and entrenchments of curtains and tapestry which I have had made, it would not be possible for me to stay in them in the day-time; and out of those who have sate up with me at night during my illnesses, scarcely one has escaped without fluxion, cold, or some disorder. Sir Amyas can bear witness that he has seen three of my women ill at once from this cause alone; and my physician himself, who has had his share of it, has several times positively declared that he will not take charge of my health during the next winter, if I am to remain in this house. As for replastering or in any way repairing or enlarging it, you may conceive how wholesome it would be for me to live in such new pieces of patchwork, when I cannot endure the least breath of damp air in the world; and on this account it is of no use whatever to offer me to make any repairs or any new conveniences against the winter. As for the house to which it is proposed that I should remove during the said repairs, it is a building attached, as it were, to this; and my keeper can testify that it is not in his power

to lodge the few servants I have; and, without them, I have too many reasons to be afraid of living thus apart, whereof at this time I will say no more. If I must proceed to conveniences, I have not, as I heretofore informed you, any gallery or cabinet to retire to occasionally alone, excepting two paltry holes, with windows facing the dark surrounding wall, and the largest of them not above a fathom and a half square. For taking the air abroad, on foot or in my chaise (there being no vacant spot on the top of that hill), I have only about a quarter of an acre of ground contiguous to the stables, which Sommer had dug up last winter, and enclosed with a fence of dry wood; a place, to look at, fitter to keep pigs in than to bear the name of garden: there is not a sheep-pen amidst the fields but makes a better appearance.

As for taking exercise on horseback, during the whole winter, as I experienced, sometimes snow, sometimes rain, break up the roads in such a manner, that there is no house containing so many people of the lower sort as this does, which can be kept clean long, whatever pains may be taken with it. Then, again, this house having no drains to the privies, is subject to a continual stench; and every Saturday they are obliged to empty them and the one beneath my windows, from which I receive a perfume not the most agreeable. And if to the

above I may be permitted the opinion which I have conceived of this house, a thing to be considered in the case of persons inferior in station to me when in ill health, I will say, that as this house has been my first prison and place of confinement in this kingdom, where from the first I have been treated with a great harshness, rudeness, and indignity, so have I always held it since to be unlucky and unfortunate, as last winter, before coming hither, I caused to be represented to the said Queen of England; and in this sinister opinion I have been not a little confirmed by the accident of the priest, who, after having been grievously tormented, was found hanging from the wall opposite to my windows,[1] about which I wrote to you, Monsieur de Mauvissière; and, then, four or five days afterwards, another poor man was found who had tumbled into the well; but this I did not mean to compare with the other. Then I have lost my good Rallay, who was one of the chief consolations of my captivity; another of my servants is since dead, and several more have been sorely troubled with illness.

So I cannot have any convenience or enjoyment here; and, but for the express assurances which the

1 The Catholic priest here mentioned had been persecuted on account of his religion; and, to escape further hardships, he hung himself in the manner described by Mary, who, on the occasion, addressed to Elizabeth an eloquent letter on the duty of permitting toleration, which is to be found in Labourcur's work.

said queen my good sister gave me of honourable treatment, and which caused me to wait for it with patience till now, I would never have set foot in this place; sooner should they have dragged me to it by force, as I now protest that nothing but the force of constraint makes me stay here, and that, in case my life should be cut short by illness, from this time I impute it to the deficiency of my dwelling, and to those who are determined to keep me there, with the intention, it would seem, to make me wholly despair for the future of the good-will of the said queen my good sister in matters of importance; since in such reasonable, ordinary wants I am so ill used, and promises made to me are not kept. To allege that the season of the year is already too far advanced; and the time too short to provide a new habitation for me, as if I had not long ago made remonstrances on the subject, is to forget that at the time my secretary was there, he spoke about it very urgently to the queen my good sister, and left a memorial at his departure for Mr. Walsyngham. Since then, the point has been urged anew by Sommer, as well by a message from my own lips as by a memorial which was given to him; whereupon I am told that the memorial was delivered to you, Mr. de Mauvissière, and that the fault lies in your not having followed it up; nevertheless, I have written to you several times, and myself

solicited Sir Amyas about it, so that no trouble has been spared on that head.

As for the inconveniences of removal at this season, and for the provisions requisite to be made, they did not stand last year upon such ceremony, when they obliged me to leave Sheffeild for Winkfeild, and Winkfeild for this place in the depth of winter, when I was scarcely able to turn in my bed, which I had kept for nearly three months before. This house, which had not been inhabited for the space of fifteen or sixteen years, was at that time prepared in less than five weeks, and, such as it was, they lost no time in bringing me to it, no matter whether with or without my consent. However, I affectionately beg you both to insist more urgently and perseveringly than ever, in the name of the king monsieur my good brother and on my own behalf, on my removal from this house and the conveniences which from the foregoing you may judge necessary in the new one that shall be appointed for me; and do not be put off, if you please, with excuses, evasions, or fair words that may be given you, if they are not to the effect that is capable of satisfying and contenting me in this matter. Insist, also, by all means, I beg you, on permission for the Sieur de Cherelles to come to me, reminding the said queen my good sister how she was pleased, till last winter, to allow me to have some one over

every year to give me an account of my affairs, as it is very requisite, and more than reasonable, especially considering the state in which they are at present from the attacks that are daily made upon my rights, and the hindrances and annoyances that are given me in the enjoyment of the little which is left me of my dowry, one third of which and more has been already wrested from me piecemeal; and it is not in my power to apply a remedy, and set things to rights, unless I can be minutely informed of the particulars by some trusty person, who, it is well known, would not attempt to write to me by letters which must pass through so many hands, neither would I thus openly inform them of my intentions. There is no criminal or prisoner, however mean, who is not permitted to receive accounts of his private affairs, and to manage them as he pleases, prisons having never been designed for the punishment of malefactors, but only for safe custody; and it seems, on the contrary, that as for me, born a sovereign queen, who sought refuge in this kingdom upon the assurance and promise of friendship, they wish to make this imprisonment drive me from affliction to affliction to the very last extremity, as if it were not sufficient that, after seventeen of the best years of my life spent in such misery, I have lost the use of my limbs, and the strength and health of the rest of the body, and that various attacks

have been made upon my honour, but they must persecute me into the bargain, and abridge me as much as possible of the property and conveniences yet left me in this world. Learn, then, if you please, gentlemen, if the queen my good sister intends to treat me in future like a condemned criminal, and to keep me in perpetual imprisonment, as it would appear from the severity with which I am used, without getting rid of me altogether by giving me my liberty (from which, agreeably to the conditions which I offered, she would derive more advantage than she ever will from my detention or death), or, on the other hand, affording me occasion to accommodate myself to her satisfaction in captivity. My requests are not made for pleasure but from necessity, not against her safety but for her honour, and such I may say as I have more than justly merited. What encouragement to do better can it be to me to see myself, after the entire voluntary submission to which I made up my mind, more harshly and rigorously treated than ever, and with more demonstration, in appearance and reality, of ill-will, suspicion, and mistrust!

I had more servants when I was with the Earl of Shereusbury than I have now, when I have more need of them, especially in my chamber, on account of the aggravation of my bodily ailments. Reckon up those whom I have discharged, or who have

died, without my having as yet any others in their place, and that family of my embroiderer who is about to leave me; the number of those whom I require will not be much greater, nor superior even in quality, excepting the Countess of Athol, for whom, also, I applied as a favour, because I had about me here in this solitude, as I represented, no companion worthy of my rank and my age, which would be highly proper and suitable. Seton and my good Rallay formerly supplied the want of better, and I cannot imagine any sufficient reason for denying me the said countess in their stead, unless they are fearful that she may give me some consolation by bringing me tidings of my son; whether in this there be any respect for humanity, I leave all those to consider who have really felt parental love for their children, which is the more fervent in me because my separation from my son is accompanied by so rigid a prohibition of all communication between him and me, that I am debarred even from hearing about his state and health. I will not hereupon call to mind that the said queen promised me, last winter, that if the answer of my son to the letter which I was writing to him, did not satisfy and content me, I should have permission to send to him again and to learn more precisely his intentions relative to those matters which had been in doubt between him and me.

Nevertheless, this has hitherto been peremptorily refused and denied me, without consideration that such conduct tends to confirm the intimation given me formerly by the said Gray, that in this quarter people were only striving to produce division and a total separation between my son and me. With respect to the other servants whom I have applied for, such as Fontenay and Thomas Levingston, I cannot discover any ground for the refusal made me, unless it be that, as formerly, the said Gray, at the time of his journey to this country, and the Countess of Shereusbury assured me, the right way to cause anything whatever to be denied me, was to signify that it would be particularly agreeable to me, and then I must never expect to have it, but just the contrary to what I desired. They do not approve of my employing English, in order to make it appear more plainly that I am looked upon as an absolute foreigner in their country; at least they ought to allow me to have my own subjects or French people, such as I like, and to receive from their faithful service some consolation between these four walls; where being confined and watched so closely as they are accustomed to be, I know not what just suspicion can be conceived of them, when once shut up here. However, I beg you to make very urgent application that I may be permitted to send for those whom I have demanded,

as well from France as from Scotland, according to the promise made me by the lips of the said queen my good sister herself that I should have an increase and supply of servants; a promise confirmed to my secretary by Mr. Walsyngham, and since in his name by Wadde, having given it in writing to my said secretary, and again by Sir Raff. Sadler and Sommer when there, and lately by my present keeper, being assured in these very words that I might send to France and Scotland for such servants as I thought proper, but that I must not have English on any account.

If they are afraid lest, by means of the said servants whom I desire to bring over from France, I should receive news of the affairs of that country, it is a vain apprehension, for I have nothing wherein to intermeddle there, and if I had any interest, it is very certain that those who might be well affected towards me, and have compassion on my condition here, will not take one step less, either forward or backward, because they are deprived of the means of receiving news from me, and I from them; on the contrary, that would spur them on still more, apprehending the danger from death to be greater than peradventure it is.

This is, for the present, what I have to communicate to you on the sudden, concerning the just dissatisfaction I feel on finding myself so unwor-

thily used and treated; wherefore, hoping through your favourable intercessions and good offices to find some remedy, I shall only apologize for having troubled you about such bagatelles, and especially for being obliged to make known to you my real state here, which otherwise might be disguised from you; so awaiting your answer about all this, I pray God to have you, gentlemen, in his holy and worthy keeping. Written at the Castle of Tuthbury, in England, the vth September, 1585.

Your entirely best friend,

MARY R.

Gentlemen, I am ashamed to be under the necessity of representing to you so particularly my miserable situation here, but the evil presses me and constrains me to declare it to you, in order that they may not put you off yonder with words without affording me any relief, of which I have no hope whatever, since I see nothing at this time which tends to realize that honourable treatment which has been so much talked of. Sir Amyas had already signified to me the reply to my memorial, and an hour ago I received your last, and on considering both, I find, in fact, no cause for content, either in the one or the other, which makes me entreat you, more earnestly than ever, to follow up the contents of the above letter.

1585. *September.* Before leaving, M. de Mauvissière obtains a promise that Mary Stuart shall be removed from Tutbury to some more healthy and more commodious place.

1586. *January.* She is removed from Tutbury to Chartley Castle, in the county of Stafford.

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, I thank you most affectionately for the trouble you have taken, since your departure from this kingdom, in giving me news of France; this has afforded me singular pleasure, as I receive but very little intelligence from any other quarter. I shall ever feel, both in heart and affection, deeply interested in the weal and woe of that crown, as it is my bounden duty to be. As for yourself, you have seen that thus far I have done all that lay in my power to validate my gift to you of the *baillage* of Vittry, about which I have written again by this despatch to those of my counsel, desiring them to speak in my name to the Dukes de Joyeuse and d'Espernon, not being able to write to them myself, nor even to the king and the queen madam my mother-in-law, as I have great need to do, concerning my affairs, owing to an inflammation of my right hand. Assist me in thanking the said Sr. Duke d'Espernon, for the kind assurance which you say he has given you of his good-will towards me, which

I receive with the obligation to repay it on the first opportunity that offers.

I have already disposed of the seignorial rights which you apply for in favour of the Sr. de St. Belin, upon the express recommendation made to me by the said queen my mother-in-law; finding myself in such need from the heavy losses and wrongs that I have suffered and that are daily done me, in regard to the enjoyment of my dower, without being able to obtain any redress, that I am obliged in my present situation to avail myself of the little that is left, and to do violence to my inclination to reward those who deserve it.

As to what you requested of me for the son-in-law of M. Badins, your valet de chambre, and partly your secretary, you shall be satisfied. I have commanded, likewise, an order to be sent you for the final settlement of the account betwixt us. Since the commencement of February I have suffered greatly from defluxions, but have kept mending since the departure of Cherelles from hence, so that only this defluxion on my right arm is now left; it is an inheritance acquired by seventeen years imprisonment, which, I fear, will never end but with my life. Meanwhile, I pray God to grant me the necessary patience, and to have you, Monsieur de Mauvissière, in his holy and worthy keeping,

Charteley, in England, the last day of March, 1586.

Your much obliged and best friend,

MARY R.

1585. *April and May.* Gifford, Maude, Greetly, and Pooley, agents of Walsingham, find means to discover the secrets of Morgan and John Ballard, and, through them, enter into a communication with Mendoça, ambassador of Spain in France, and with Savage and Babington, who are conspiring in England to save Mary Stuart.

The Queen of Scots to Don Bernard de Mendoça.

Monsieur l'ambassadeur of France, by your last of the tenth of February and the twenty-sixth of July, 1585, which were not delivered to me till the twentieth of April last, I have been rejoiced to learn the good choice which the Catholic king, your master, monsieur my good brother, has made, by appointing you to reside in France, agreeably to the request which I formerly made to him. I have been so strictly guarded during the last eighteen months, that all secret intelligence failed me down to last Lent, when Morgan transmitted this alone to me; I am in the same ignorance at present, not knowing what has been done for the advancement of our preceding designs. I am, therefore, quite at a loss what course to take here. I have directed William to communicate to you some overtures in my name, on which I beg you to impart to him

freely what you think he will be able to obtain from the said sieur king your master, that he may not be importuned about these matters, should you imagine them not likely to succeed.

There is another subject which I have reserved to write about to you alone, and which I wish you to communicate to the king, so that no other person but himself, if possible, may have cognizance of it. It is this, that, considering the obstinacy and perseverance of my son in heresy, and which I assure you I have deplored and lamented day and night more than my own calamity, and, foreseeing the eminent injury which will result to the Catholic church if he should succeed to the throne of this kingdom, I have come to a determination, in case my said son should not embrace, before my death, the Catholic religion (of which I must confess to you I see little hope so long as he remains in Scotland), to cede and give by will my right to the said succession to this crown to the said sieur king your master,[k] begging him, on such condition, to take me henceforward under his special protection, and likewise the state and affairs of this country, the which, for the discharge of my conscience,

[k] Robertson, in his History of Scotland, vol. iii., gives the substance of the will of Mary Stuart made at Sheffield in 1577, in which this clause occurs. He says that the document was copied from the original by the Rev. Mr. Crawford, that part of it is in the handwriting of Nau, and the remainder in the queen's own hand.

I think I cannot place in the hands of a prince more zealous in the cause of our religion, or more capable, in every respect, to re-establish it here, which is a point of great importance to all the rest of Christendom, considering myself more bound to regard herein the general good of the Church than, with detriment to that, the particular greatness of my own posterity.

Once more I beg you to keep this intention most secret, for, were it to be divulged, it would cause me in France the loss of my dowry, in Scotland a complete rupture with my son, and in this country my total ruin and destruction. Thank, if you please, for me, the said sieur king my good brother for the favours and liberality he has shewn toward Lord Paget and his William, which I beseech him most affectionately to continue, and also to reward, for my sake, with some pension, poor Morgan, who has suffered so much, not for me only, but for the common cause, being able, from the experience I have had of him, to assure you of his entire fidelity, and that he has always conducted himself as an upright man in all matters that I have hitherto entrusted him with. I likewise recommend to you Foliambe, whom you know, that you may procure him some further aid beyond the salary that I have assigned him according to my scanty means, regretting that they are inadequate

to provide for those persons in the manner I desire, and they have deserved. May God have you, monsieur l'ambassadeur, in his holy and worthy keeping. From Chartleau, in England, the xxth May, 1586.

The Queen of Scots to Don Bernard de Mendoça.

Monsieur l'ambassadeur, these lines are principally to acknowledge the receipt of your last, dated the 4th of April, and to assure you that I do not, in the least, impute the delay of our designs to any failure on the part of his Catholic majesty, your master monsieur my good brother, having always seen him walk with such a firm step, as well in the general cause of religion as in every thing that I have solicited for myself, that I should deem myself ungrateful were I to entertain any other opinion. Since it is the will of God that I should still suffer, I am ready to yield and to bow my neck to the yoke; and in my conscience I do not regret this delay so much on my own account, as for the misery and affliction in which I have seen, and see daily, so many good people of this kingdom feeling more keenly the public calamity than my particular misfortune.

I have charged my ambassador to speak to you in my name respecting some moneys advanced, nearly three years ago, by the Sieurs Paget, Aron-

del, and Morgan, on the assurance given them of reimbursement in the name of his holiness and the aforesaid sieur king your master. I beg you to do all that lies in your power to satisfy them, as it is most reasonable, and also of consequence not only for the payment of the agents who engaged in the business on their behalf, but likewise for my safety here. May God have you, monsieur l'ambassadeur, in his holy and worthy keeping. The second of July, 1586.

1585. *July* 5. A treaty signed between England and Scotland.

July —. Babington corresponds with Nau and Curle, secretaries of the Queen of Scotland, but under the superintendence of Walsingham.

Thomas Philips is employed to decipher the letters, and Arthur Gregory to counterfeit the seals.

August 4. Ballard is apprehended, and discloses the whole plot.

The Queen of Scots to Don Bernard de Mendoça.

Monsieur l'ambassadeur, you will have learned, from my last letter, that I have received those you forwarded to me by William; since then, yours of the 19th of May has been delivered to me, by which I perceive, with extraordinary satisfaction, that the Catholic king monsieur my good brother has begun to resent the designs and machinations of the Queen of England against him, not only on account of the good which you give me reason to hope may result from this circumstance

alone, but principally for the upholding of his reputation in Christendom, for which, in particular, I feel deeply bound to be solicitous. You cannot believe how much the appearance of the exploits of the Earl of Leicester[l] and Draques[m] have elated the hearts of the enemies of the said sieur king throughout all Christendom, and how much his very long patience with this Queen of England has diminished the confidence which the Catholics of this country have always had in him. For my own part, I freely confess to you, that I was so much discouraged from entering into any new schemes, seeing the futility of the past, that I have turned a deaf ear to several overtures and proposed enterprises made to me during the last six months by the said Catholics, it not being in my power to give them any positive answer.

As to all the news that I have lately received respecting the said king's good intentions towards this quarter, I have amply explained to the prinpal of the said Catholics a plan which I sent to them with my opinion on each point, that they may consult together on the execution of it, and, to gain time, I desired them to dispatch, with all dili-

[l] Leicester, commanding the English troops in the Low Countries, had gained some advantages over the army of Philip II.

[m] Sir Francis Drake, the celebrated English navigator, who had just come from the Cape de Verde islands and the West Indies, and plundered and burnt several Spanish settlements.

gence, one of their party, sufficiently informed, to treat with you agreeably to the general offers that have already been made to you, concerning all the things that they will have to require in this affair from the said sieur king your master, assuring you, upon the faith and promise which they have given me, that they will faithfully and sincerely perform, at the hazard of their lives, all that they shall promise by their deputy, and hereby I beg you to place the same confidence in him as if I had sent him myself. He will inform you of the means of escaping from hence, which I take upon myself to effect, provided I am in the first place assured beforehand of assistance being ready. Thank God my health is at present better than it has been for the last three months.

I thank you most affectionately for the kind offices you rendered me with the said sieur king your master, for the 12[m] [12,000] crowns with which he has been pleased to supply me for my said deliverance, for which purpose they shall be employed, and for no other. I greatly regret that the twelve thousand for Scotland have been of so little benefit. I have had intelligence from London, which informs me that the Sieur Tassis was appointed to act in this business, but, without very urgent necessity, I am unwilling to importune any one about such things, and therefore value the more the

trouble you have taken, and to which I acknowledge myself to be principally indebted for the grant of these sums.

You will assist me, if you please, to express to the said sieur king monsieur my good brother the obligation which I protest I owe him, and my wish to return it, if I should ever have it in my power to do so; and, as to yourself, I hope that I shall not be ungrateful. I have charged my ambassador to receive what you may please to deliver to him, and to send it to me with all diligence, and by the secret channel which I have mentioned to him. May God have you, monsieur, &c. &c.

From Chartley, 27th July, 1586.

Postscript.

Monsieur l'ambassadeur, I was on the point of sending you the enclosed when I received yours of the 7th of July. Thank God our communication has commenced so favourably, and is so safely established, that henceforth you can, if you please, write to me whenever you have occasion. May it please God to restore the king monsieur my brother to health, preserve his children, and grant him that happiness, content, and prosperity, which he deserves for his sincere piety and the care he takes for the welfare of Christianity; and to

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this end he shall have my daily prayers, if I cannot serve him in any other manner.

I thank you for the great punctuality you have shown in communicating to him the contents of the letters which I wrote to you in May last, not only as to what concerns myself, in which I feel fully convinced you will act according to your promise, but also for those poor English gentlemen, whom I cannot refrain from recommending to you again, especially the release of Morgan, and some pension, if you can by any means assist to obtain it. I have answered you concerning the money which you have obtained for me, and hereby beg you will consult with my ambassador as to the best means of remitting it to me, along with whatever is yet to come.

I shall therefore conclude this, praying God, &c.
From Chartley, August 2nd, 1586.

N. B.—Gifford and Maude, secret agents of Walsingham's, having obtained, in April 1586, the confidence of Morgan and Ballard, the two latter introduced them to Mendoça, Spanish ambassador in France, and afterwards to Babington and Savage. The consequence was that all this correspondence passed under the eye of Walsingham, until the moment when he conceived that he had sufficient proof to compromise the Queen of Scot-

land. Then, on the 4th of August, two days after Mary had written the above letter, he caused Ballard to be apprehended, and on the 8th of the same month Sir Amyas Paulet unexpectedly removed the queen from Chartley to Tixal, and took possession of all her papers and jewels.

1586. *August* 8. Mary Stuart is taken from Chartley to Tixal, where all her jewels and papers are seized.

August 28. Sir Amyas Paulet brings Mary Stuart back to Chartley.

September 20. Babington and five of his companions in misfortune are executed.

September —. The Queen of Scots is removed from Chartley to Fotheringay Castle, in Northamptonshire.

October 6. Elizabeth appoints a commission of forty-seven peers and members of the Privy Council to try Mary Stuart, and writes to her on this subject.

October 7. Burghley and Walsingham are authorised by Elizabeth to hold a secret conference with Mary Stuart, to persuade her to answer before the commissioners.

October 11. Thirty-six members of the commission assemble at Fotheringay.

October 12. First and second meeting of the commission. The Queen of Scotland protests against all that they do, but afterwards replies to several charges which are preferred against her.

October 13. Third meeting. Mary Stuart renews her protestations, and denies, with great vehemence, the proofs which are brought against her from Babington's letters.

Burghley receives a letter from Elizabeth, dated 12th October, which enjoins him not to permit the sentence to be pronounced against Mary Stuart before the commission returns to London.

October 14. The commission adjourns to Westminster.

October 25. It pronounces sentence of death against the Queen of Scotland.

October 29. The English Parliament confirms this sentence.

November 12. Petition of the two Houses, praying a speedy execution.

November 12. Lord Buckhurst (Thomas Sackville) and Beale arrive at Fotheringay, and communicate the sentence to Mary Stuart.

November 24. Buckhurst and Beale permit the Queen of Scots to have an interview with Préau, her chaplain, to whom she secretly delivers her last letters to the Pope, the Duke of Guise, Mendoça, and Mons. A., a French gentleman.

Henry III. to M. de Courcelles.[n]

Courcelles, I have received your letter of the 4th of October last past, wherein you inform me of the conversation that passed between you and the King of Scotland, on your expressing to him the sincere affection I bear him, by which he seems to have an earnest desire to correspond with me entirely; but I wish that letter had also informed me that he were better disposed towards the queen his mother and that he had the heart and the will to do every thing to assist her in her present affliction, considering that the captivity in which she has been unjustly held for eighteen years and more, might have induced him to listen to the many proposals which have been made to him for obtaining her liberty, which is naturally most desirable to all men, but more particularly to those who are born sovereigns and to command others, who are more

[n] M. de Courcelles, French ambassador in Scotland, had been previously employed in London under M. de Mauvissière.

impatient of being thus detained prisoners. He ought also to think that, if the Queen of England my good sister should follow the advice of those who desire her to imbrue her hands in the blood of his said mother, it will be a great stain on his reputation, inasmuch as it will be thought that he has withheld the good offices which he ought to render her with the said Queen of England, which might be sufficient to move her if he had employed them as early and as warmly as natural affection commanded. It is much to be feared that, in case of the death of his said mother, there may hereafter be some scheme for acting the same violent part towards him, to render the succession to the throne of England more easily attainable by those who have it in their power to secure it after the said Queen of England, and not only to deprive the said King of Scotland of the right that he may claim to it, but render doubtful that which he has to the crown of Scotland.

I know not in what state the affairs of my said sister-in-law may be when this letter reaches you; but I desire you will endeavour to excite the said King of Scotland by these remonstrances, and any others that can bear upon this subject, to take up the defence and protection of his said mother; and tell him in my name that this is a thing for which he will be highly praised by all other kings and

sovereign princes, and that he may be assured, if he fails in this, great blame will attach to him, and, perhaps, great injury ensue to himself.

As to the state of my affairs, you must know that the queen madam my mother is very shortly to see the King of Navarre, to confer with him respecting the pacification of the troubles in this kingdom, and, if he be as sincere in this matter as myself, I hope that things will soon be satisfactorily arranged, and that my subjects will enjoy some respite from the great evils and calamities which the war has brought upon them.

Beseeching the Creator, Courcelles, to have you in his holy keeping. Written at St. Germain en Laye, the xxist day of November, 1586.

Signed, HENRY; and, lower down, BRULART.

The Queen of Scots to Don Bernard de Mendoça.

My very dear friend, having ever found you zealous in the cause of God, and desirous of my welfare and deliverance from captivity, I have always communicated to you all my intentions upon that subject, begging you to make them known to the king my good brother. For this same reason I now write to bid you a last adieu, notwithstanding the little leisure I have, being about to receive the stroke of death, which was announced to me on

Saturday last; I do not know when, or in what manner; but at least you may praise God for me that, through his grace, I have had the heart to receive this unjust sentence of heretics with resignation, on account of the happiness which I esteem it to shed my blood at the requisition of the enemies of His church, who do me the honour to say that it cannot be subverted while I am alive, and also that their queen cannot reign in safety in the same predicament.

As for these two conditions, I have accepted without contradiction the high honour which they confer upon me, as one most zealous for the Catholic religion, for which I have publicly offered my life; and, as for the other, although I have never committed either act or deed tending to take off her who was on the throne, unless it be that they make a crime of my right to the crown, which is acknowledged by all Catholics, yet I would not contradict them, leaving them to think as they please. This annoyed them much, and they told me that, whatever I may say or do, it will not be for the cause of religion that I shall die, but for having endeavoured to murder their queen. This I denied, as being utterly false, having never attempted any such thing, and leaving it to God and the church to dispose of this island in what relates to religion.

The bearer of this has promised to relate to you how rigorously I have been treated by those here, and how ill served by others whom I did not expect to have shown so great a fear of death in so just a quarrel. They have not been able to draw any thing from me but that I am a queen, free, Catholic, and obedient to the church; and that, not being able to effect my deliverance by fair means, I was compelled to seek it by those which presented themselves. Nau has confessed all; Curle has in a great measure followed his example: so that every thing turns against me. I am threatened if I do not beg pardon; but I say that, as they had already destined me to die, they might proceed with their injustice, hoping that God will recompense me in another world; and, out of spite, because I will not speak, they came yesterday, Monday, and took down my canopy,[o] saying that I was no more than a dead woman, and without any rank. They are at present working in my hall — erecting the scaffold, I suppose, whereon I am to perform the last act of this tragedy. I die in a just cause, and am happy in having made over my rights to the king, your master. I have said that I consider him, should my son not return into the bosom of the church, as being a prince the most worthy to go-

[o] A cloth of state, or a sort of throne.

vern and protect this island. I have written to the same purpose to his holiness, and I beg you to assure him that I die in the determination which I have communicated to you, and also another, whom you know to be his dearest and most intimate friend, and a fourth, and these above all others I bequeath to the protection of the king, beseeching him in God's name not to abandon them, and entreating them to serve him in place of me. As I cannot write to them, greet them in my name, and pray to God, all of you, for my soul. I have asked for a priest; but I do not know if my request will be granted. They have offered me one of their bishops; but I positively refused him. You may believe all that the bearer of this shall tell you, and also those two poor girls who have been immediately about my person; they will tell you the truth, which I beg you to make public, as I fear that a very different interpretation will be given. Order a mass to be said for the deliverance and repose of my soul — you know the place I mean—and let the churches in Spain remember me in their prayers. Keep the name of the bearer of this secret: he has been a faithful servant to me. God grant you a long and happy life! You will receive from me, as a token of my remembrance, a diamond, which I have held very dear, having been given to me by the late Duke of Norfolk as a

pledge of his troth, and I have always worn it as such: keep it for my sake. I do not know if I shall have leave to make a will. I have applied for it, but they have all my money. God be with you! Excuse what I write in sorrow and trouble, not having any one to help me to make my rough draughts, and to write for me. If you cannot read my hand, the bearer will read it for you, or my ambassador, whom he knows.

Among other accusations, that of Criton [Crighton] is one which I know nothing of. I fear greatly that Nau and Pasquier have hastened my death, having kept some papers, and they are men who will turn on any side for their own advantage. Would to God Fontenay had been here! he is a young man of great knowledge and resolution.

Once more adieu. I recommend to you my poor and henceforth destitute servants, and pray for my soul.

From Fotheringay, Wednesday, the 23rd of November, 1586. I recommend to you the poor Bishop of Ross, who will be wholly destitute.

Your very obliged and perfect friend,

MARY R.

Received at Paris, 15th October, 1587.

The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Guise.

My good cousin, you, whom I hold most dear in the world, I bid you farewell, being on the point of being put to death, by an unjust judgment, such a one as never any belonging to our race yet suffered, much less one of my rank. But praise God, my good cousin; for, situated as I have been, I was useless to the world in the cause of God and his church; but I hope that my death will bear witness of my constancy in the faith, and my readiness to die for the support and restoration of the Catholic church in this unfortunate island. And though executioner never yet dipped his hand in our blood, be not ashamed, my friend; for the judgment of these heretics and enemies of the church, and who have no jurisdiction over me, a free queen, is profitable before God to the children of his church, which had I not adhered to, this stroke had been spared me. All those of our house have been persecuted by this sect; witness, your good father, with whom I hope to be received in mercy by the just judge.

I recommend then to you, all my poor servants, the discharge of my debts, and the founding of some annual obit for my soul; not at your expence, but to make such solicitation and arrangements as shall be requisite to fulfil my intentions,

which you will be informed of by my poor disconsolate servants, eye-witnesses of this, my last tragedy.

May God prosper your wife, children, brothers, and cousins, and especially our head, my good brother and cousin, and all belonging to him! May the blessing of God, and that which I should give to my own children, be upon yours, whom I commend to God not less sincerely than my own unfortunate and deluded son! You will receive tokens [rings] from me to remind you to have prayers said for the soul of your poor cousin, destitute of all aid and counsel but that of God, who gives me strength and courage to withstand alone so many wolves howling after me; to God be the glory! Believe, in particular, a person who will give you, in my name, a ruby ring, for I assure you, upon my conscience, that this person will tell you the truth agreeably to my desire, especially as to what concerns my poor servants, and the share of each. I recommend to you this person for her sincerity and honesty, in order that she may be put into some good place. I have chosen her as being the most impartial, and as one who will most simply report my commands. I beg you not to let it be known that she has said anything to you in private, for envy might injure her.[p]

[p] As *personne* is a feminine noun in French, it is impossible to decide whether the person alluded to in this passage was male or female.

I have suffered much for the last two years and upwards, but have not been able to inform you of it for an important reason. God be praised for all things, and may he give you grace to persevere in the service of his church so long as you live, and may that honour never depart from our race, that all of us, both males and females, may be ready to shed our blood in the defence of the faith, regardless of all other worldly interests! For my own part, I think myself born, both on the father's and the mother's side, to offer up my blood for it, and have no intention to degenerate. May Jesus, crucified for us, and all the holy martyrs, render us, by their intercession, worthy of the free-will offering of our bodies for his glory! From Fotheringhaye, Thursday, this 24th Nov.

Thinking to degrade me, they took down my canopy, and my keeper afterwards came and offered to write to the queen, saying that this act had not been done by her command, but by the advice of some of her council. I showed them, on the said canopy, in place of my coat of arms, the cross of my Saviour. You will be informed of all that was said; they have since been more indulgent.

Your affectionate cousin and perfect friend,

MARY R. of Scotland,

Dowager of France.

1586. *November* 27. M. de Pomponne de Belliévre, sent by Henry III. to remonstrate with the Queen of England upon the sentence of death pronounced against Mary Stuart, obtains his first audience at Richmond; but without any result.

December 4. Elizabeth signs the sentence pronounced against Mary Stuart.

December 5. M. de Belliévre goes again to Queen Elizabeth; but, as she refuses him any respite, he demands his passport.

December 6. The sentence is published in London with great ceremony; bonfires are made, and the bells rung the whole day.

The same day Messrs. de Belliévre and de Chateauneuf write to Elizabeth, to demand a respite until such time as they receive an answer from the King of France.

December 9. The queen sends them a verbal intimation that she will grant twelve days.

December 24. M. de Belliévre receives a reply from Henry III., and demands an audience for taking leave.

December 27. He is at length admitted into her presence at Greenwich Palace. He renews his remonstrances, and concludes by intimating that the king, his master, had charged him to declare that he felt particularly offended at the little attention she had paid to his entreaties and remonstrances.

1587. *January* 4. M. de Belliévre sets out for Dover, not being able to obtain his passport until the preceding evening.

The same day Stafford, brother to the English ambassador in Paris, calls on Destrappes, secretary to M. de Chateauneuf, and takes him to see a prisoner confined for debt, who proposes to take the life of Elizabeth. Destrappes, indignant at such audacity, immediately informs M. de Chateauneuf, who orders Stafford to quit his house, forbidding him ever to enter it again.

January 6. Gray, the Earl of Mar, Robert Melville, and Keith, ambassadors of James VI., obtain an audience of Queen Elizabeth, and make several proposals to save the life of Mary Stuart, but obtain nothing.

The same day Destrappes, on his way to join M. de Belliévre at Dover, is apprehended at Rochester by order of the Queen, brought back to London, and confined in the Tower.

January 7. The English Ministers announce the discovery of a new conspiracy in which they pretend that M. de Chateauneuf is concerned.

January 8. The ports of England are closed, and the couriers of the French ambassador stopped.

Statement for M. de Villeroy of the transactions of M. de Belliévre in England, relative to the affairs of the Queen of Scotland during the months of November and December, 1586, *and January,* 1587.—*N. S.*

Monseigneur, I have received the letter which you were pleased to write to me on the 17th of last month, by which I learn that you have received and read the propositions made by M. de Belliévre to the Queen of England, but that you desire to be further informed what judgment has been given against the Queen of Scotland, and of his success. I will, therefore, relate to you all that has happened, and all that I have been able to learn and collect as accurately as I can.

My said Seigneur set out from Paris on his journey to England, the 17th day of November, and arrived at Calais the 27th, where he received letters from M. de Chateauneuf, begging him to make all the haste that he could, as the Queen of England and the states of her kingdom were proceeding with the greatest dispatch to the trial of the said Queen of Scotland. Of this, Monseigneur was more particularly informed by the Sieur de Callery, a near relative of M. de la Brosses, and a native of Lyons,

a very respectable gentleman, who is about de Chateauneuf, who had come express from him in London to the said Calais, to bring thither an English vessel to carry my said Seigneur to Dover; the said vessel having arrived with a fair wind, which was, of course, a contrary one for us, we were, therefore, obliged to wait two or three days at the said town of Calais, for the convenience of the wind. But though the wind was contrary and the risk great, my said Seigneur, from the great desire he had to arrive before any thing had been resolved upon relative to the said Queen of Scotland, embarked on Friday, the 28th of the said month of November, at midnight; and we arrived at Dover next day, about nine o'clock in the morning; but not without suffering greatly from sea-sickness, all of us excepting my said Seigneur, who remained at the said Dover the whole of the said day, that the gentlemen who accompanied him, and who were shaken by the sea, might rest themselves. On Sunday morning, the 30th of the said month, he got into a coach, which my said Seigneur de Chateauneaf had sent for him by M. de Brancaléon, whilst we of his suite were mounted on post-horses, which are easily obtained, and in great number all along the road, from the said Dover to London, distant from each other twenty-five French leagues, which generally take two days to travel.

My said Seigneur, with all his company, arrived in London on Monday, the first of December, at noon. On the morrow he sent M. de Villiers, one of the gentlemen of his suite, to the Queen of England, who was holding her court at the palace of Richemont, distant from the said London three good French leagues, to request her to grant him audience; and as the malice of that queen is infinite, she wished to defer seeing my lord for some days. Meanwhile, she caused her estates and parliament to proceed secretly with the extraordinary trial of that poor princess, the Queen of Scotland, and an evil report to be spread in order to put off the audience of my said Seigneur, which he warmly urged, and, moreover, taking two occasions, and making use of false pretences, purposely to gain time, and to take advantage of these delays and inventions, to finish the said trial.

In the first place, she caused a report to be raised at her court and in London, that all the company of my said Seigneur was full of contagion, that three or four had died of the plague at Calais, and that others had been left ill on the road; another report generally circulated was, that he had in his company some unknown men, and that they had come expressly to kill her. These two false reports never ceased for the space of eight days, but, on the 7th of December, in the morn-

ing, madam the said queen sent to fetch my said Seigneur, who went to her after dinner to the said town of Richemont, accompanied by all the gentlemen who had come from France with him.

On entering the presence-chamber, he found the said lady sitting on her royal seat, accompanied and surrounded by great lords and gentlemen of the kingdom. After my said Seigneur and M. de Chateauneuf had paid their respects, he began to make such remonstrances to her, on the part of the king, as are contained in the paper which I sent you some time since, to which she replied, nearly point by point, and in good terms, and in the French language; and, as if seized with some passion which appeared in her countenance, represented that the Queen of Scotland had been continually persecuting her, and that it was the third time she had endeavoured, by an infinite number of means, to take away her life; that she had too long borne this with great patience; and that nothing had ever touched her heart so keenly as this last circumstance, which had cost her more sighs and tears than the loss of all her relatives had done, and so much the more, because the said Queen of Scotland was her nearest kinswoman, and so nearly allied to the king; and as in the said remonstrance Monseigneur had put forward seve-

ral examples drawn from history, she observed that she had read much and seen many books in her lifetime, and more than a thousand others of her sex and rank, but never had she met with or heard talk of such an act as that which had been planned against her and prosecuted by her own kinswoman, whom the king, her brother-in-law, could not and ought not to support in her malice, but rather aid her in bringing her speedily to justice as an example; adding that she had, in good proof and experience of this world, known what it was both to be subject and a sovereign, what it was to have good neighbours, and sometimes to have to remonstrate with such as were evil disposed; that she had sometimes found treason where she had placed the utmost confidence; that she had seen great benefits scarcely acknowledged, and, in place of gratitude, schemes to thwart her; telling Monseigneur de Belliévre that she was very sorry he had not been deputed on some better occasion; and that in a few days she should send to the king her good brother, whose health she inquired after, as also that of the queen his mother, who had taken great pains to restore peace in France, which, as far as she could judge, was necessary.

This said, she retired to her apartment, and my said seigneur returned that day to London, where

he remained some days awaiting the answer of the said queen, whom he urged incessantly for it, as also the lords of her council, who, nevertheless, always put off all business relating to the poor Queen of Scotland; which occasioned my said seigneur to return to the Court at Richemont, to make fresh remonstrances to the said Queen of England, about the measures which he had learned to have been resolved upon and determined respecting this poor princess.

It was on the 15th of December that he begged and entreated her, as she had proceeded so far as to cause even sentence of death to be passed upon her, and there was no need for him to make a longer stay in England, to give him his safe-conduct to return to the king, which she promised to do in the course of two or three days; and he returned to London that same day, which was Monday.

On the morning of Tuesday, the 16th of the said month, all those of the states and of the parliament of the kingdom were assembled at the palace of Westminster, where also were present the principal lords of the said kingdom, and of the council of the said kingdom, in which place, and in the presence of the above said, was proclaimed and pronounced in open court the sentence of death against that unfortunate princess, as was done also with great solemnity and ceremony in all the

public places and streets of London, and consequently throughout the said kingdom; and on this proclamation the bells of the said city were rung for twenty-four hours without ceasing; and the inhabitants were commanded to make bonfires each before his own door in the streets, as is done in France on the eve of St. John the Baptist.

On the following day, the said sentence of death was carried and read to the said Queen of Scotland, and some of the principal of the council of the kingdom, accompanied by all the officers of justice, who proceeded to the Castle of Faldrinzay [Fotheringhay], ten leagues distant from London. It is said that this poor princess was not much surprised, but with great firmness said to them, "that all the contents of the said sentence were nothing but falsehoods and suppositions, invented against her; and that they had proceeded against her in the same manner as did the scribes and pharisees against Jesus Christ; that she was not subject nor amenable to the laws and statutes of the kingdom, as she had before protested, when, by compulsion, she had spoken and answered before them;" which answers and interrogations, at least the few I have been able to collect, I have transcribed below; and, after the evident proclamations, which my said seigneur had seen and heard,

he resolved to write the following letter to the Queen of England:—

"Madam, we left your majesty yesterday, expecting, as you were pleased to tell us, that we should have, in a few days, your good answer to the request which we made to you on the part of the king our good master, your brother, in behalf of the Queen of Scotland, his sister-in-law and ally; but though this morning we have been informed that the sentence passed upon the said queen has been proclaimed in this city of London, while we were promising ourselves a different result from your clemency, and from the friendship you bear our said lord the king your good brother, yet, not to omit any thing that we consider to be our duty, and according to the wish of his majesty, we have not failed to write you this present, by which we again beseech you, very humbly, not to refuse his majesty the very urgent and very affectionate request which he has made you, and that you would be pleased to spare the life of the said Queen of Scotland, which our said lord the king will receive as the greatest pleasure that your majesty or any other person can do him; whereas, on the contrary, there could not happen any thing that would cause him greater displeasure, or wound his heart more, than if severity were exercised towards the said queen, being what she is to him.

" Wherefore, madam, as the said king, our master and your good brother, when he despatched us for this purpose to your majesty, did not imagine that it was in any way possible for such execution to be so promptly resolved upon, we most humbly beseech you, madam, before you permit any thing further to be done, to grant us some time, during which we may apprize him of the state of the affairs of the Queen of Scotland, in order that, before your majesty takes a final resolution, you may hear what it shall please his most Christian majesty to say and to remonstrate upon the most important matter which, in our memory, was ever submitted to the judgment of men. The Sr. de St. Cir, who will deliver these presents to your majesty, will, if you please, be the bearer of your good reply. From London, the 16th of December, 1586."

It was on the said 16th of December, that the said Sr. de St. Cir and other French gentlemen proceeded to the said court of the said Queen of England, at Richemont, to present to her the aforesaid letter, which bore the signature of my said lord and M. de Chateauneuf; but the queen would not be seen that day, excusing herself upon the plea of indisposition; and the said letter was left with the Sr. de Walsingham, her chief secretary of state, who promised to send the answer of

the queen on the morrow; but it was two or three days before the said answer was verbally delivered by two gentlemen, who came to London to my said seigneur without any letters; for it is not customary with the English to negociate any business in writing, but only by word of mouth. The message which they delivered to my said lord, on the part of their queen, was to this effect—that, according to the letter which he had written to her a few days before, expressing a wish that she should grant a delay of some days to enable them to acquaint the king with the state of the affairs of the Queen of Scotland, the said Queen of England granted a delay of twelve days only, during which he might send to the said king, and advise him of the aforesaid things; whereupon Mr. de Sanlis [Genlis], eldest son of M. Bruslard, was incontinently sent to France; and in addition to the ample despatch which he carried to his majesty on this subject, he was expressly charged to report to him, as he did faithfully, every circumstance that he had witnessed during his sojourn in England, relating to the affairs of the Queen of Scotland. His majesty thereupon resolved to send a sudden express, which arrived in London two days after the expiration of the twelve which were granted. My said lord sent immediately to the said Queen of England, who was at a palace near London, called Grenuche, a league

from London, where she was keeping the Christmas holidays, according to the old almanac, begging her to be pleased to grant him audience, but which he could not obtain for four or five days, on account of the said holidays.

At last, on the 6th of January, my said lord was sent for by her, and went thither on the same day. On entering, with the Sr. de Chateauneuf, a hall in the said palace of Grenuche, which they call the presence-chamber, and in which was the said queen, having saluted her, he made the remonstrances and the second propositions, which you have seen, and to which the said queen listened very patiently until nearly the concluding and last words of them, which made her say very abruptly, and almost angrily, "M. de Bellièvre, have you had orders from the king my brother to hold such language to me?" He replied, "Yes, madam, I have the express commands of his majesty." She then replied, "Have you this power signed by his own hand?" He again said, "Yes, madam; the king my master, your good brother, has expressly ordered and charged me, by letters signed with his own hand, to make the above remonstrances." She said to him, "I must have the same signed by yourself," which my said lord sent to her the same day. She then ordered all those who were in the chamber to withdraw, and there remained

with her only my said Seigneurs de Bellièvre and Chasteauneuf, and one of her's, where they continued in conference for a good hour; nevertheless. I do not learn that my said lord was able to draw from her any assurance of the life of the Queen of Scotland; but she assured my said lord that she would send to the king an ambassador of her own, who should be in Paris as soon as he, and by whom she would send to his majesty her resolution respecting the affairs of the Queen of Scotland.

On Sunday, the 6th of January, my said lord left the said queen, in her palace of Grenuche, having taken leave of her and the lords of her court, intending to set out two days afterwards, which was Tuesday, the 8th of January, when we were all prepared and booted, to commence our journey to France; but the said queen sent, on that day, two of her gentlemen to my said lord, begging him to wait two or three days longer; whereupon, to obey her, he stayed till the 13th of January, when she sent him his passport, and gave orders to her admiral to hold one of her ships in readiness at Dover, to carry my said lord over, on his return.

After passing through Rogester and Canterberitz, two of the principal towns and bishoprics of the kingdom, we arrived at the said Dover on Saturday, the xvijth of January; and on Sunday

morning, at nine o'clock, the wind was so favourable that, after embarking, we found ourselves happily arrived in port, in the road of Callays, the same day, at one o'clock in the afternoon, and, thank God, without any sea-sickness, which we all experienced on our passage from the said Calays to England.

What happened since, and the very day of our departure from England, was the commencement of a strange tragedy. An English gentleman, calling himself the Sieur Stafor, brother to the ambassador residing in France for the said queen, came and addressed himself to M. de Trappes, saying, that there was a certain person imprisoned in London, for debt only, who desired to communicate to M. de Chasteauneuf an affair of importance for the service of the king, and which likewise concerned the Queen of Scotland; which information my said lord would not despise; not suspecting any secret evil design, he resolved to send the said Sieur de Trappes to the said prisoner, to hear what he had to say. On the arrival of the said Sieur de Trappes, the prisoner began by saying, that he was detained there merely for the sum of a hundred or a hundred and twenty crowns; and if M. de Chateauneuf would be pleased to lend him that sum, he could render a signal service to the Queen of Scotland, by the resolution which he had formed to kill the Queen of England. The said Sieur

de Trappes, on hearing this proposal, was astonished, and observed to the said prisoner and to the said Stafor, who had accompanied him thither, that he was a very bad man if he had resolved upon so wicked an act; and that he could assure him, that M. de Chateauneuf would highly disapprove all his undertakings, nor would he participate or meddle in any of them. He left him without saying any more; and, having returned to the said Sr. de Chasteauneuf, he related to him all that the said prisoner had said; then the said Sr. de Chasteauneuf said to Stafor, that he thought this mode of proceeding most extraordinary, and was sure that it was an artifice; and that this snare had been laid to bring him into trouble; and asked why he had applied to him upon so base and wicked a business, and remonstrated with him in the strongest terms, and told the said Stafor to leave his house immediately, and never again to enter it, advising him to fly, as he saw plainly that he was a lost man; and he went away quite amazed.

Next day the said Staffor went again to the said Sr. de Trappes, who was to set out for France, and who had prepared himself to make the said journey with us, and the said Staffort begged the said Sr. de Trappes to do him the favour to assist him to cross the sea. This the said de Trappes

represented to M. de Chasteauneuf, who said to the said de Trappes, "Go and tell the said Staffort that I have forbidden him my house, and I desire him to leave it forthwith; and that, if it were not for the respect I have for his family, I would instantly inform the queen of his designs. He immediately left the said house, and was taken up the same day. The said de Trappes, setting out the same day by post for Dover, where he was to wait for us, to cross the sea with my said lord, when he was only two posts from London, was apprehended, brought back prisoner to the said place, and put into the Tower. The said de Trappes, after having been examined and interrogated by the council of the queen, it was found that the said interrogations and answers were all contrary to, and different from, the truth; these fine councillors of England having forged, falsified, and composed just such papers as they pleased, respecting this fact by them invented and planned; for, be it remarked, they never produce the original papers signed by parties, but only copies, in which they insert or omit what they please and what is favourable to their ordinary inventions.

On the following day, or two days after the imprisonment of the said de Trappes and Staffort, my said Seigneur de Chasteauneuf was summoned before the council of the queen, to which the said Staffort

was brought and confronted with him: he asserted strange things, saying that he and the said de Trappes had treated with the said prisoner about the death of the Queen of England: but the said Sr. de Chasteauneuf knew well how to reply and to defend himself against such dangerous inventions, of which the English are so full, and which they employ against all those who displease them, as does my said Seigneur Chasteauneuf, because he is too upright a man, and performs his duty to his master as a very good and faithful servant of his majesty; this fine Queen of England having, in order to colour all her schemes and proceedings, sent to France an ambassador, who arrived eight or ten days after us, bringing, as I supposed, to the king, some favourable reply on the affairs of the Queen of Scotland, which she had deferred when my said lord left her, promising to make him acquainted with her final resolution on this point; but, instead of giving him this satisfaction, she made new complaints of his ambassador to the said Queen, who, she said, participated in the designs of those who aimed at taking her life, without apprizing her of it, and making many other charges full of calumny, falsehood, and artifice.

This invention, so maliciously conceived, being circulated throughout all England, has so excited and embittered the people of the said kingdom against

the said Sr. de Chasteauneuf and the poor Queen of Scotland, that, in short, the said Queen of England, to consummate and crown her artful scheme, has taken advantage of this new occasion to manifest her high displeasure at this circumstance recently brought about by her, and projected also by the aid and pure malice of her creatures, so that the whole odium of it has fallen upon the head of that poor, unfortunate princess, whom she has, by her artifices, brought to such a cruel death, as you may see by a brief account which I have collected from those who can vouch for the truth.

The trial of the said Queen of Scotland has been got up and instituted on grounds which the Queen of England has pretended and pretends to have been proved and verified: that the said Queen of Scotland had conspired against her person, her state, and kingdom, and sworn her death, which she had endeavoured to effect by means of those whom she had brought to execution; the principal of fourteen gentlemen, executed in London, was called the Seigneur de Babinton.

The said Queen of England, in order to obtain evidence of the above, resolved, with her council, that the said Queen of Scotland should be examined, and should answer by word of mouth on the facts and articles deduced and resulting from the trial of the persons executed: whereto she was

compelled, on account of the incessant persecutions and threats employed against her, though she had held out for some days, and resolved neither to appear nor to answer in any way: however, rather than that this silence should afford occasion to think that she might be guilty of that which was laid to her charge, she at last determined to appear before the said commissioners deputed by the said Queen of England, and made this speech, which I have received from good authority.

The aforesaid lady being seated at the end of the table in the hall, and the said commissioners around her, the Queen of Scotland began to speak in these terms:

"I do not consider any one of you who are here assembled either as my equal or my judge, to examine me upon any facts; therefore, what I now do and what I say to you is of my own free will, taking God to witness that I am innocent, pure, and clear in my conscience of all the accusations and calumnies which are laid to my charge."

She then went on to protest that she was a free-born princess and queen, not subject to any but to God, to whom she had to render an account of her actions; and therefore she again protested that her appearance before the said commissioners should not be prejudicial to her or to the kings, princes, and potentates, her allies, or to her son, and de-

sired that her protest should be registered, and demanded a copy of it.

The chancellor, one of the commissioners, began and protested, on the contrary, that the said protest of the Queen of Scotland could not hurt or prejudice the majesty of the Queen of England or her crown.

The said chancellor ordered their commission to be read in the presence of the said Queen of England, as being founded on the statute and law of the kingdom.

The said Queen of Scotland replied, that she protested anew, that the said statute and law were insufficient and suspicious, and that she could not submit to them, being in no way amenable, as the said law and statute were not made for her.

The said chancellor insisted that the law was sufficient for proceeding against her; but she answered and said to the said chancellor that that law and statute were not for those of her rank.

The said chancellor declared that the commission authorised the proceeding with her trial, though she refused to answer, and that he could pass on to the evidence, and he represented to the said queen that she had offended against two branches of the said statute and of the law, both in the conspiracy against the queen and on the present occasion, and that she had herself planned and devised it. The

said Queen of Scotland replied that she had never even thought of such a thing.

Thereupon the letters which they alleged to have been written by her to Sr. de Babinton, and the answer of the said Sr. de Babinton, were read to her.

The said lady replied, that she had never seen Babinton, nor had she any conference with him, nor received any letters from him; that she could not prevent him or any other man from crossing the sea; but that there was not a person who could assert and maintain, with truth, that she had ever done any thing to the harm or prejudice of the said Queen of England; that, being so strictly guarded, cut off from all communication, separated from and deprived of all her friends, surrounded by enemies, destitute of all counsel, it was impossible she could have participated in or consented to such practices as she was charged with; and that many persons wrote letters to her whom she did not know, and that letters were sent to her without her knowing whence they came.

The confession of Babinton being read to her, she replied that she had never seen any such letter.

Her letter to Babinton being read, she said that if Babinton or any others had said any thing, whatever it might be, against her, they were liars. She then said, "Now produce and show me my own

letter, in my own writing and with my signature, which you say I wrote to Babinton; you show me only falsified copies, which you have filled with such language as you have thought proper;" and she asserted that she had never seen the said letter.

The letter of Babinton to her she again said she had never seen; she was told that she must have seen it, as that was proved by her answer. She said, "I know nothing whatever of that answer. If you will show me my letter and signature containing what you say, then I will admit what you charge me with; but thus far you have produced nothing worthy of belief, mere copies which you have invented and augmented as you thought proper." She then said, weeping, "If I have ever planned or consented to such schemes affecting the life of my sister, I pray God that he may never grant me mercy. I confess, indeed, that I have written to several, that I have begged them to assist in delivering me from my miserable confinement, as a captive and ill-treated princess, for nineteen years and so many months; but never did I either wish or write such things against the queen. I have indeed written for the deliverance of several persecuted Catholics, and, could I have saved them from punishment with my own blood, I would have done and would yet do it, and I will always do every thing in my power to prevent their destruction."

The said lady then addressed the Secretary Walsingham, as if in anger, saying, that he had always been her greatest enemy, as well as her son's, and that he had tampered with certain persons against her to her prejudice. The said Walsingham replied, "Madam, I protest before God, who is my witness, that I have never done any thing to your prejudice, as a private man, unworthy of a man of honour, or a public man of my rank; and I say this before God, and, as a man anxious for the welfare of my mistress, I have been careful of it."

This is all that was done in this matter for that day; on the morrow, she was again compelled to appear before the said commissioners, and, having seated herself at the end of the table in the hall, and the said commissioners around her, she began thus, in a loud voice: "You are not ignorant that I am a queen, a sovereign, crowned and anointed in the church of God, and cannot, and ought not, for any cause whatever, to be summoned before you and examined, and judged by the laws and statutes which you put forth, because I am a free princess, and owe to no prince more than he owes to me; and as to all the offences against my sister which you lay to my charge, I can give you no answer, unless I am assisted by my counsel; and if you will choose to proceed, do what you please, but in regard to all your proceedings, I

renew my former protest, and appeal to God, who is the true and just judge, and to the kings and princes, my allies, friends, and confederates."

Her protest was again registered, as she desired. She was then told that she had, besides, written several malicious letters to the princes of Christendom prejudicial to the Queen of England and to her kingdom. She replied, "I do not deny it; and if it were yet to do, I would do the same again, with a view to recover my liberty. Consider and remember that there is not either man or woman in the world, of lower rank than I am, who would not seek the aid of friends to obtain release from such a captivity as mine. You charge me with certain letters of Babinton's; I do not deny it; but show me in these letters, if you can, one single word which refers to the queen my sister; you will then have occasion to prosecute me. I wrote to him, who wrote to inform me that he would set me at liberty, that, if he could do so without risking the life of both, he was to make the attempt, and that is all."

The said lady also said: "Respecting the charge you bring against me on account of my servants and even my secretaries, you have treated them very roughly; therefore they cannot and ought not to be made and produced as witnesses against me. And as for the words of traitors,

they are of no account; now that they are dead, you can say whatever you think fit: let them believe them who choose."

Several charges were brought against her, but without sufficient proofs. Thus much is to be collected from the proceedings against the said Queen of Scotland, having been taken from a translation made from English into French.

1587. *January* 10. The ambassadors of the King of Scotland obtain another audience of Elizabeth, which, like the former, leads to no result.

January 17. They take leave of the queen, and in the name of the king protest against all that she might do to the prejudice of Mary Stuart.

William Stanley, governor of Deventer, in Flanders, dreading the fate of Babington, who had been his friend, gives up the place to the Spaniards, and enters, with 1300 men, into the service of Philip II.

February 1. Elizabeth signs the warrant for the execution of Mary Stuart, which Davison lays before her, and orders it to be forwarded to Walsingham, the chancellor.

Warrant for the Execution of the Queen of Scots.

"Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, &c. To our trusty and well-beloved cousins, George, Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl Marshall of England, Henry Earl of Kent, Henry Earl of Derby, George Earl of Cumberland, and Henry Earl of Pembroke, greeting, &c.

"Whereas sithence the sentence given by you, and others of our Council, Nobility and Iudges, against the Queen of Scots, by the name of Mary, the Daughter of James the Fifth, late king of Scots, commonly called the Queen of Scots, and Dowager of France, as to you is well known; all the States in the last Parliament assembled did not only deliberately, by great advice, allow and approve the same sentence as just and honourable, but also with all humbleness and earnestness possible, at sundry times require, sollicit, and press us to direct such further execution against her Person, as they did adjudge her to have duly deserved; adding thereunto, that the forbearing thereof was and would be daily certain and undoubted danger, not only unto our own life, but also unto themselves, their posterity, and the public estate of this Realm, as well for the cause of the Gospel and true Religion of Christ, as for the peace of the whole Realm; whereupon we did, although the same were with some delay of time, publish the same Sentence by our Proclamation, yet hitherto have forborn to give direction for the further satisfaction of the aforesaid most earnest requests, made by our said States of our Parliament; whereby we do daily understand, by all sorts of our loving Subjects, both of our Nobility and Council, and also of the wisest, greatest, and best-devoted of all Sub-

jects of inferior degrees, how greatly and deeply, from the bottom of their hearts, they are grieved and afflicted, with daily, yea hourly fears of our life, and thereby consequently with a dreadful doubt and expectation of the ruin of the present happy and godly estate of this Realm, if we should forbear the further final execution, as it is deserv'd, and neglect their general and continual requests, prayers, counsels, and advices, and thereupon, contrary to our natural disposition in such case, being overcome with the evident weight of their counsels, and their daily intercessions, imparting such a necessity, as appeareth, directly tending to the safety not only of our self, but also to the weal of our whole Realm; we have condescended to suffer justice to take place, and for the execution thereof upon the special trusty experience and confidence which we have of your loyalties, faithfulness and love, both toward our Person and the safety thereof, and also to your native countries, whereof you are most noble and principal Members, we do will, and by Warrant hereof do authorize you, as soon as you shall have time convenient, to repair to our castle of Fotheringay, where the said Queen of Scots is in custody of our right trusty and faithful servant and Counsellor, Sir Amyas Powlet, Knight; and then taking her into your charge, to cause by your commandment execution to be done

upon her person, in the presence of yourselves, and the aforesaid Sir Amyas Powlet, and of such other officers of justice as you shall command to attend upon you for that purpose; and the same to be done in such manner and form, and at such time and place, and by such persons, as to five, four, or three of you shall be thought by your discretions convenient, notwithstanding any Law, Statute, or Ordinance to the contrary: And these our Letters Patents, seal'd with our Great Seal of England, shall be to you, and every of you, and to all persons that shall be present, or that shall be by you commanded to do any thing appertaining to the aforesaid Execution, a full sufficient Warrant and discharge for ever. And further, we are also pleased and contented, and hereby we do will, command, and authorize our Chancellor of England, at the requests of you all and every of you, the duplicate of our Letters Patents, to be to all purposes made, dated, and seal'd with our Great Seal of England, as these Presents now are.

"In witness whereof, we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents. Given at our Mannor of Greenwich, the 1st day of February, in the twenty-ninth year of our Reign."

1587. *February* 4. Beale, secretary to the council, is despatched to Fotheringay, to carry the order, and take the necessary measures of precaution.

February 7. The Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, accompanied by Sheriff Andrews, arrive at Fotheringay, and inform Mary Stuart that she is to be executed the next day.

The Queen of Scotland begs permission to see her confessor, which is refused her.

She passes the night in prayer, and in writing her testamentary arrangements.

The Will of the Queen of Scots.

COPY of THE WILL and of a memorandum made by the late queen, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland and Dowager of France. The said copy, taken from the original of the said will and memorandum, entirely written and signed by the queen's own hand on the evening before, and on the day of her death, which was the 8th of February, 1587.

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, I, Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of Scotland and Dowager of France, being on the point of death, and not having any means of making my will, have myself committed these articles to writing, and I will and desire that they have the same force as if they were made in due form.

In the first place, I declare that I die in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish faith. First, I desire that a complete service be performed for my soul in the church of St. Denis in France, and

another at St. Peter's at Rheims, where all my servants are to attend in such manner as they may be ordered to do, by those to whom I have given directions, and who are named herein.

Further, that an annual obit be founded for prayers for my soul, in perpetuity, in such place, and after such manner, as shall be deemed most convenient.

To furnish funds for this, I will that my houses at Fontainebleau be sold, hoping that the king will render me assistance, as I have requested him to do in my memorandum.

I will that my estate of Trespagny be kept by my cousin de Guize, for one of his daughters, if she should come to be married. In these quarters, I relinquish half of the arrears due to me, or a part, on condition that the other be paid in order to be expended by my executors in perpetual alms.

To carry this into effect the better, the documents shall be looked out, and delivered according to the assignment for accomplishing this.

I will also that the money which may arise from my lawsuit with Secondat be distributed as follows:

First, in the discharge of my debts and orders hereafter mentioned, and which are not yet paid; in the first place, the two thousand crowns to

Courle, which I desire to be paid without any hesitation, they being a marriage portion, upon which neither Nau nor any other person has any claim, whatever obligation he may hold, inasmuch as it is only fictitious, and the money is mine, and not borrowed, which since I did but show him, and afterwards withdrew it, and it was taken from me, with the rest at Chartelay; the which I give him, provided he can recover it, agreeably to my promise, in payment of the four thousand francs promised at my death, one thousand as a marriage portion for an own sister, and he having asked me for the rest for his expenses in prison. As to the payment of a similar sum to Nau, it is not obligatory, and therefore it has always been my intention that it should be paid last, and then only in case he should make it appear that he has not acted contrary to the condition upon which I gave it him, and to which my servants were witnesses.

As regards the twelve hundred crowns, which he has placed to my account, as having been borrowed by him for my use, six hundred of Beauregard, three hundred of Gervais, and the remainder from I know not whom, he must repay them out of his own money, and I must be quit, and my order annulled, as I have not received any part of it, consequently it must be still in his possession, unless he has paid it away. Be this as it

may, it is necessary that this sum should revert to me, I having received nothing; and in case it has not been paid away, I must have recourse to his property. I further direct, that Pasquier shall account for the moneys that he has expended and received by order of Nau, from the hands of the servants of Monsieur de Chasteauneuf, the French ambassador.

Further, I will that my accounts be audited, and my treasurer paid.

Further, that the wages and sums due to my household, as well for the last as for the present year, be paid them before all other things, both wages and pensions, excepting the pensions of Nau and Courle, until it be ascertained what there is remaining, or whether they have merited any pensions from me, unless the wife of Courle be in necessity, or he ill treated on my account; the wages of Nau after the same manner.

I will that the two thousand four hundred francs which I have given to Jeanne Kenedy be paid to her in money, as it was stated in my first deed of gift, which done, the pension of Volly Douglas shall revert to me, which I give to Fontenay for services and expences for which he has had no compensation.

I will that the four thousand francs of that banker's be applied for and repaid; I have for-

gotten his name, but the Bishop of Glascou will readily recollect it; and if the first order be not honoured, I desire that another may be given on the first money from Secondat.

The ten thousand francs which the ambassador has received for me, I will that they be distributed among my servants who are now going away, viz.

First, two thousand francs to my physician.

..... Elizabet Courle.
..... Sebastien Paiges.
..... Mairie Paiges, my god-daughter.
..... Beauregard.
A thousand francs to Gourgon.
..... Gervais.

Further, that out of the rest of my revenue, with the remainder of Secondat's, and all other casualties, I will that five thousand francs be given to the foundling hospital of Rheims.

To my scholars, two thousand francs.

To four mendicants such sum as my executors may think fit, according to the means in their hands.

Five hundred francs to the hospitals.

To Martin, *escuyer de cuisine*, I give a thousand francs.

A thousand francs to Annibal, whom I recommend to my cousin de Guyze, his godfather, to place in some situation, for his life, in his service.

I leave five hundred francs to Nicolas, and five hundred francs for his daughters, when they marry.

I leave five hundred francs to Robin Hamilton and beg my son to take him and Monsieur de Glascou, or the Bishop of Rosce.

I leave to Didier his registership, subject to the approbation of the king.

I give five hundred francs to Jean Landor, and beg my cousin of Guyse, or of Mayne, to take him into their service, and Messieurs de Glascou and de Rosse to see him provided for. I will that his father be paid his wages, and leave him five hundred francs.

I will that one thousand francs be paid to Gourgeon, for money and other things with which he supplied me in my necessity.

I will, that if Bourgoin should perform the journey agreeably to the vow which he made for me to Saint Nicolas, that fifteen hundred francs be paid to him for that purpose.

I leave, according to my slender means, six thousand francs to the Bishop of Glascou, and three thousand to him of Rosse.

And I leave the gift of casualties and reserved seignorial rights to my godson, the son of Monsieur du Ruisseau.

I give three hundred francs to Laurenz.

Also, three hundred francs to Suzanne.

And leave ten thousand francs among the four persons who have been my sureties, and to Varmy the solicitor.

I will that the money arising from the furniture which I have ordered to be sold in London, shall go to defray the travelling expenses of my servants to France.

My coach I leave to carry my ladies, and the horses, which they can sell or do what they like with.

There remains about three hundred crowns due to Bourgoing for the wages of past years, which I desire may be paid him.

I leave two thousand francs to Melvin, my steward.

I appoint my cousin, the duke of Guise, principal executor of my will.

After him, the Archbishop of Glascou, the Bishop of Rosse, and Monsieur du Ruisseau, my chancellor.

I desire that Le Préau may without obstacle hold his two prebends.

I recommend Marie Paiges, my god-daughter, to my cousin, Madame de Guyse, and beg her to take her into her service, and my aunt de Saint Pierre to get Moubray some good situation, or retain her in her service, for the honour of God.

Done this day, 7th February, 1587.

Signed, MARY, Queen.

In the copy from which this will is taken, the following memorandum is on the same sheet.

MEMORANDUM

of the last requests which I make to the King.

To cause to be paid me all that is due to me of my pensions, as also of money advanced by the late queen, my mother, in Scotland, for the service of the king, my father-in-law, in those parts; that at least an annual obit may be founded for my soul, and that the alms and the little endowments promised by me may be carried into effect.

Further, that he may be pleased to grant me the benefit of my dowry for one year after my death to recompence my servants.

Further, that he may be pleased to allow them their wages and pensions during their lives, as was done to the officers of Queen Alienor. Further, I entreat him to take my physician into his service, according to his promise, to consider him as recommended.

Further, that my almoner may be replaced in his profession, and for my sake have some trifling benefice conferred upon him, so that he may pray to God for my soul during the rest of his life.

Further, that Didier, an old officer of my household, whom I have recompensed by a registership, may be permitted to enjoy it for his life, being al-

ready far advanced in years. Written on the morning of my death, this Wednesday, 8th of February, 1587.

Signed, MARY, Queen.

Compared with the original paper, this 26th of April, 1638.—(Note of the time, in the same handwriting.)

Contemporary writers make frequent mention of this will; some of them even take notice of the exceptions made by Mary to the prejudice of Curle and Nau; still I am of opinion that it has never been printed, at least not in French. The original is supposed to be in the archives of the Vatican, but it must have been registered in France, since the parliament of Paris issued an *arrêt* relative to its execution. As for the memorandum, that has been frequently published, among others, by Jebb, ii., 303, and Keralio, v., 435.—(Note by Prince Labanoff.)

1587. *Wednesday, February* 8, *O.S.* (New Style, the 18th.) Mary Stuart is beheaded in one of the rooms in Fotheringay Castle. Henry Talbot, son of the Earl of Shrewsbury, is immediately despatched to inform Elizabeth of the event.

The scaffold being removed, Sir Amyas Pawlet causes the will of Mary Stuart to be read by her almoner, Préau, who had been separated from her ever since the 24th of November, and who had not permission to be present at her death.

The same day the body of the deceased queen is embalmed, and placed in a leaden coffin, which was kept for six months in the said castle, where all her servants were likewise detained.

February 9. The news of her execution reaches London, and bonfires and the ringing of bells are kept up all night.

Narrative of the Execution of the Queen of Scots. In a letter to the Right Honourable Sir William Cecill.

It maye please your good Lordshipp to be advertised, that, according as your honour gave me in Commaund, I have heer sett downe in writing the trew order and mannor of the execucion of the Lady Mary last Q. of Scotts, the 8 of Februrary last, in the great hall within the Castle of Fotheringhay, togither with relation of all such speeches and actions spoken and done by the sayde Queen or any others, and all other circumstances and proceedinges concerning the same, from and after the delivery of the sayde Scottish Queen to Thomas Andrews, Esquire, High Sheriff for hir Majestyes Countye of Norff.[q] unto the end of the sayde execucion: as followeth.

It being certyfied the 6 of Februarye last to the sayde Queen, by the right honorable the Earle of Kent, the Earle of Shrewsberry, and also by Sir Amias Pawlet, and Sir Drue Drurye, hir governors, that shee was to prepare hir self to dye the 8 of Februarye nexte, she seemed not to be in any terror for ought that appered by any hir outward gesture or behaviour (other then marvelling shee should dye), but rather with smiling cheer and pleasing countenaunce, digested and accepted the sayde ad-

[q] A mistake for Northampton.

monition of preparacion to hir (as shee sayde) unexpected execution, saying that hir death should be welcome unto hir, seing hir Majestye was so resolved, and that that soule were too too farr unworthye the fruition of the joyes of heaven for ever, whose bodye would not in this world be content to endure the stroake of the executioner for a moment. And that spoken shee wept bitterlye and became silent.

The sayde 8 day of Februarye being comme, and tyme and place appointed for the execution, the sayde Queen being of stature tall, of bodye corpulent, rownde shouldred, hir face fatt and broade, double chinned, and hazell eyed, hir borrowed haire aborne, hir attyre was this. On hir head shee had a dressing of lawne edged with bone lace, a pomander chayne and an *Agnus dei* about hir necke, a Crucifix in hir hande, a payre of beades att hir girdle, with a silver cross att the end of them. A vale of lawne fastned to hir caule bowed out with wyer, and edged round about with boane lace. Hir gowne was of black sattin printed, with a trayne and long sleeves to the grownde, sett with acorne buttons of Jett trymmed with pearle, and shorte sleeves of sattyn black cutt, with a payre of sleeves of purple velvett whole under them. Hir kirtle whole, of figured black sattin, and hir petticoate skirtes of Crimson velvett, hir shooes of Span-

nish leather with the rough side owtward, a payre of green silke garters, hir nether stockinges worsted, coulored watchett, clocked with silver, and edged on the topps with silver, and next hir leg, a payre of Jarsye hose, white, &c. Thus apparreled she departed hir chamber, and willinglye bended hir stepps towardes the place of execution.

As the Commissioners, and divers other Knightes, were meeting the Queen comming forthe, one of hir servantes, called Melvin, kneeling on his knees to his Queen and Mrs., wringing his handes, and shedding teares, used these wordes unto hir. "Ah! Madam: unhappy me, what man on earth was ever before the messinger of so important sorrow and heavines as I shall be, when I shall reporte that my good and gracious Queen and Mistris is behedded in England?" This sayde, teares prevented him of further speaking. Where upon the sayde Queen, powring forth her dying teares, thus answered him. "My good servant, cease to lament, for thow hast cause rather to joye then to mourne. For now shalt thow see Mary Stewardes troubles receive their longe expected end and determinacion. For know" (sayde shee), "good servant, all the world is but vanitye, and subject still to more sorrow then a whole Ocean of teares can bewayle. But I pray thee" (sayde shee) "carry this message from me, that I dye a trewe woman to my religion, and

likè a trewe Queen of Scotland and Fraunce. But God forgive them" (sayde shee) " that have longe desired my end and thristed for my bloud, as the harte doth for the water brookes. Oh God" (sayd shee), thow that arte the author of truthe and truthe it selfe, knowest the inward chamber of my thought, how that I was ever willing that England and Scotland should be united togither. Well" (sayd sheé), " commend me to my sonne, and tell him that I have not done any thinge prejudiciall to the state and kingdome of Scotland: " and so resolving hir self agayne into teares, sayde, " Good Melvin, farwell;" and with weeping eyes, and hir cheekes all besprinkled with teares as they were, kissed him, saying once agayne, " Farwell, good Melvin, and praye for thy Mistres and Queen."

And then shee turned hir selfe unto the lordes, and tolde them shee had certayne requestes to make unto them. One was, for certayne monye to be payde to Curle, hir servant. Sir Amias Pawlet knowing of that monye answered to this effect, " it shoulde." Next, that hir poore servantes might have that with quietnes which shee had given them by hir will, and that they might be favourably intreated, and to send them safely into their countries. " To this " (sayde shee) " I conjure yow." Last, that it would please the Lordes, to permitt hir poore distressed servantes to be present about

hir att hir deathe, that their eyes and hartes maye see and wittnes how paciently their Queen and Mistris would endure hir execucion, and so make relacion, when they camme into their country, that shee dyed a trew constant Catholique to hir religion. Then the Earle of Kent did answer thus: "Madam, that which yow have desired can not conveniently be graunted. For, if it should, it weare to be feared least somme of them, with speeches or other behaviour, would bothe be grevous to your grace, and troublesome and unpleasing to us and oure companye, wherof we have had somme experience. For if such an access might be allowed, they would not sticke to putt somme superstitious trumperye in practise, and if it were but in dipping their handkerchiffes in your Grace's bloude, wherof it were very unmeet for us to give allowance."

"My Lord," (sayde the Queen of Scotts) "I will give my worde, although it be but dead, that they shall not deserve any blame in any the accions you have named. But alas, (poore soules) it would doe them good to bidd their mistris farwell; and I hope your Mrs." (meaning the queen) "being a mayden queen, will vouchsafe in regard of womanhood, that I shall have somme of my own people about me att my deathe: and I know hir majestye hath not given you any such streight charge or

commission, but that you might grant me a request of farr greater courtesie then this is, if I were a woman of farr meaner calling then the Queen of Scottes." And then perceiving that shee could not obtayne hir request without somme difficultye, burste out into teares, saying, "I am cosen to your queen, and discended from the bloud roiail of Hen. the 7, and a marryed queen of Fraunce, and an annoynted queen of Scotland." Then, upon great consultacion had betwixte the two earles and the others in commission, it was granted to hir what she instantly before earnestly intreated, and desired her to make choice of six of hir best beloved men and weomen. Then of hir men she chose Melvin, hir apothecary, hir surgeon, and one old man more; and of hir weomen, those two which did lye in hir chamber. Then, with an unappalled countenance, without any terror of the place, the persons, or the preparacions, she camme out of the entrye into the hall, stept upp to the Scaffold, being two foote high and twelve foote broade, with rayles rownd about, hanged and covered with black, with a lowe stoole, longe fayre cushion, and a block covered also with black. The stoole brought hir, shee sat downe. The erle of Kent stood on the right hande, the erle of Shrewsberry on the other, other knightes and gentlemen stoode about the rayles. The commission for hir execution was redd

(after silence made) by Mr. Beale, clarke of the counseil; which done, the people with a lowde voice, sayde, "God save the Queen." During the reading of this commission, the sayde queen was verye silent, listning unto it with so careless a regard, as if it had not concerned hir at all, nay, rather with so merry and cheerfull a countenance as if it had byn a pardon from hir majestye for hir life, and with all used such a straungeness in hir wordes, as if shee had not knowne any of the assembly, nor had been any thing seene in the English tongue.

Then, Mr. Doctor Fletcher, Deane of Peterborough, standing directly before hir without the rayles, bending his bodye with great reverence, uttered the exhortacion followinge.

"Madame, the queen's most excellent majestye, (whome God preserve longe to reighne over us) havinge, (notwithstanding this preparacion for the execution of justice justly to be done upon you for your many trespasses agaynst hir sacred person, state, and government) a tender care over your sowle, which presently departing out of your bodie, must eyther be seperated in the trew fayth in Christe, or perrish for ever, doth for Jesus Christe offer unto yow the comfortable promises of God, wherin I beseech your grace, even in the bowells of Jesus Christe, to consider these three thinges:

"First, your state paste, and transitory glorie.

"Secondly, your condicion present; of deathe.

"Thirdly, your estate to comme, eyther in everlasting happiness, or perpetuall infelicitye.

"For the first, lett me speake to your grace with David the king; forgett (Madam) your selfe, and your owne people, and your father's howse; forgett your naturall birthe, your regall and princely dignitye, so shall the king of kinges have pleasure in your spirittuell bewtye, &c.

"Madam, even now, Madam, doth God Almightye open yow a doare into a heavenly kingdome; shutt not therfore this passage by the hardning of your harte, and greeve not the spiritt of God, which maye seale your hope to a daye of redempcion."

The queen, three or four times sayde unto him, "Mr. Deane, trouble not yourselfe nor me; for know, that I am settled in the auncient Catholique and Romaine religion, and in defence therof, by God's grace, I minde to spend my bloud."

Then, sayde Mr. Deane, "Madam, change your oppinion, and repent yow of your former wickednes. Settle your faythe onlie upon this grownde, that in Christ Jesus yow hope to be saved." Shee answered agayne and agayne, with great earnestnes, "Good Mr. Deane, trouble not yourselfe any more about this matter, for I was borne in this

religion, have lived in this religion, and am resolved to dye in this religion."

Then the earles, when they sawe how farr unconformable shee was to heare Mr. Deane's good exhortacion, sayde, "Madam, we will praye for your grace with Mr. Deane, that you maye have your mind lightned with the trew knowledge of God and his worde."

"My lordes," answered the queen, "if you will praye with me, I will even from my harte thanke yow, and thinke myselfe greatly favoured by yow; but to joyne in prayer with yow in your manner, who are not of one religion with me, it weare a a sinne, and I will not."

Then the lordes called Mr. Deane agayne, and badd him saye on, or what he thought good els. The deane kneeled and prayed as follows:

"Oh, most gracious God and merciful father, who, according to the multitude of thy mercies, dost so put away the sins of them that truly repent, that thou rememberest them no more, open, we beseech thee, thine eyes of mercy, and behold this person appointed unto death, whose eyes of understanding and spiritual light, albeit thou hast hitherto shut up, that the glorious beams of thy favour in Jesus Christ do not shine upon her, but is possessed with blindness and ignorance of heavenly things (a certain token of thy heavy

displeasure, if thy unspeakable mercy do not triumph against thy judgment), yet, O Lord our God, impute not, we beseech thee, unto her those her offences, which separate her from thy mercy; and, if it may stand with thine everlasting purpose and good pleasure, O Lord, grant unto us, we beseech thee, this mercy, which is about thy throne, that the eyes of her heart may be enlightned, that she may understand and be converted unto thee; and grant her also, if it be thy blessed will, the heavenly comfort of thy Holy Spirit, that she may taste and see how gracious the Lord is. Thou hast no pleasure, good Lord, in the death of a sinner, and no man shall praise thy name in the pit; renew in her, O Lord, we most humbly beseech thy majesty, whatsoever is corrupt in her, either by her own frailty, or by the malice of the ghostly enemy; visit her, O Lord, if it be thy good pleasure, with thy saving health, as thou didst the offender at the side of thy cross, with this consolation: This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. Say unto her soul, as thou didst unto thy servant David, I am thy salvation; so shall thy mercy, being more mighty, be more magnified. Grant these mercies, O Lord, to us thy servants, to the increase of thy kingdom, and glory at this time. And further, O most merciful Father, preserve, we most humbly beseech thy majesty, in

long and honourable peace and safety, Elizabeth thy servant, our most natural soveraign lady and queen; let them be ashamed and confounded, O Lord, that seek after her soul; let them be turned backward and put to confusion that wish her evil; and strengthen still, Lorde, we pray thee, the hand and balance of justice amongst us, by her gracious government; so shall we, both now and ever, rest under thy faithfulness and truth, as under our shield and buckler, and bless thy name, and magnifie thy mercy, which livest and reignest one most gracious God, for ever and ever. Amen."

All the assembly, save the queen and hir servantes, sayde the prayer after Mr. Deane as he spake it, during which prayer, the queen satt upon hir stoole, having hir *Agnus Dei*, crucifixe, beades, and an office in Lattyn. Thus furnished with superstitious trumpery, not regarding what Mr. Deane sayde, shee began verie fastly with teares and a lowde voice to praye in Lattin, and in the middst of hir prayers, with overmuch weeping and mourning, slipt of hir stoole, and kneeling presently sayde divers other Lattin prayers. Then she rose, and kneeled downe agayne, praying in English, for Christe's afflicted church, an end of hir troubles, for hir sonne, and for the queen's majestye, to God for forgivenes of the sinns of them in this islande: shee forgave hir ennemyes with all hir harte that

had longe sought hir bloud. This done she desired all saintes to make intercession for hir to the Saviour of the worlde, Jesus Christ. Then she began to kiss hir crucifix, and to cross hir self, saying these wordes: "Even as thy armes, oh, Jesu Christ, were spredd heer upon the cross, so receive me into the armes of mercye." Then the two executioners kneeled downe unto hir, desiring hir to forgive them hir death. Shee answered, "I forgive yow with all my harte. For I hope this death shall give an end to all my troubles." They, with hir two weomen helping, began to disroabe hir; and then shee layde the crucifix upon the stoole. One of the executioners tooke from hir neck the *Agnus Dei*, and shee layde hold of it, saying, she would give it to one of hir weomen, and, withall, told the executioner that he should have monye for it. Then they tooke of hir chayne. Shee made hir self unready with a kinde of gladnes, and smiling, putting on a payer of sleeves with hir owne handes, which the twoo executioners before had rudely putt off, and with such speed, as if shee had longed to be gone out of the worlde.

During the disroabing of this queen, shee never altred hir countenance, but smiling sayde, shee never had such groomes before to make hir unreadye, nor ever did putt of hir cloathes before such a companye. At lengthe unattyred and unapparelled to hir pet-

ticoate and kirtle, the two weomen burst out into a great and pittiful shrieking, crying, and lamentation, crossed themselves, and prayed in Lattine. The queen turned towardes them: "*Ne cry vous; j'ay preye pur vous:*" and so crossed, and kissed them, and bad them praye for hir.

Then with a smiling countenaunce shee turned to hir men servantes, Melvin and the rest, crossed them, badd them farwell, and pray for hir to the last.

One of the weomen having a Corpus Christi cloathe, lapped it upp three corner wise, and kissed it, and put it over the face of hir queen, and pynned it fast upon the caule of hir head. Then the two weomen departed. The queen kneeled downe upon the cushion resolutely, and, without any token of feare of deathe, sayde allowde in Lattin the psalme, *In te, domine, confido.* Then groaping for the block, shee layde downe hir head, putting hir cheane over hir backe with bothe hir handes, which, holding their still, had been cut off, had they not been espyed.

Then she layde hir self upon the blocke most quietly, and stretching out hir armes and legges cryed out: *In manus tuas, domine, commendo spiritum meum,* three or four tymes.

Att last, while one of the Executioners held hir streightly with one of his handes, the other gave two stroakes with an Axe before he did cutt of hir head, and yet lefte a little grissle behinde.

Shee made very smale noyse, no part stirred from the place where shee laye. The Executioners lifted upp the head, and bad God save the Queen. Then hir dressinge of Lawne fell from hir head, which appeared as graye as if shee had byn thre score and ten yeares olde, powled very shorte. Hir face much altred, hir lipps stirred upp and downe almost a quarter of an hower after hir head was cut off. Then sayde Mr. Deane: "So perrish all the Queen's ennemyes." The Erle of Kent camme to the dead body, and, with a lower voice sayde, "Such end happen to all the Queen's and Gospell's ennemyes." One of the Executioners plucking of hir garters, espyed hir little dogg which was crept under hir cloathes, which would not be gotten foorth but with force, and afterwardes would not departe from the dead corps, but camme and layde between hir head and shoulders: a thing much noted. The dogg embrewed in hir bloud was carryed awaye and washed, as all thinges els were that had any bloud, save those thinges which were burned. The Executioners were sent awaye with mony for their fees, not having any one thyng that belonged unto hir. Afterwardes every one was commanded forth of the hall, saving the Sherife and his men, who carryed hir upp into a great chamber made ready for the Surgeons to imbalme hir, and there shee was embalmed.

And thus I hope (my very good Lord) I have certifyeth your honour of all accions, matters, and circumstances as did proceed from hir, or any other att hir death: wherein I dare promise unto your good Lordshipp (if not in somme better or worse woordes then were spoken I am sommewhat mistaken) in matter, I have not any whitt offended. Howbeit, I will not so justefye my dutye herein, but that many thinges might well have been omitted, as not worthie notinge. Yet, because it is your Lordshipp's faulte to desire to know all, and so I have certyfied all, it is an offence pardonable. So, resting at your honor's further commaundement, I take my leave this 11 of February, 1586.

Your honors in all humble service
to commaund,
R. W.

To this paper Prince Labanoff has appended the following note:

"The despatch of M. de Chateauneuf [see p. 176] gives in a great measure the same particulars, only this report is more circumstantial, and of very great weight, having been written by an English Protestant, who was an eye-witness. We know of two English accounts of the death of Mary Stuart, one by the Earl of Shrewsbury, the other by R. W. (Richard Wigmore, the secret agent of Burleigh.)

I have not had time to ascertain positively whether this report is not a translation of one of those narratives; but I believe that it is not."

The prince is mistaken. The French narrative, which he has given, is evidently a translation of Wigmore's report, with some slight difference at the beginning, and the omission of the concluding paragraph.

Report of the King's Affairs, from the departure of Monsieur de Belliévre to the 25th of February, 1587, *N.S.*

On Friday, the second day after the departure of Monsieur de Belliévre, the ambassadors of Scotland, namely, the Sieurs Gray, Melvin,[r] and Queth [Keith], had an audience, and took the same course as Monsieur de Belliévre had done, in order to save the life of the Queen of Scotland, beseeching the Queen of England, in the name of their king, to spare her life; which the queen refused, alleging that she could not be safe so long as the said Queen of Scotland lived, with many very harsh expressions against the said Melvin, whom she considered as the principal adviser and instigator of the King of Scotland to complain in behalf of his mother;

[r] Robert Melvil, brother of James Melvil, who left memoirs of his times, and of Andrew Melvil, steward to the Queen, and her faithful companion in captivity.

and went so far as to say to the said Melvin, that if she had such a counsellor as he, she would have his head cut off. To which the said Melvin replied, with great courage, that he would never fail, even at the risk of his life, to give good counsel to his master, who had not one good servant but would advise him not to suffer his mother to be thus put to death.

Three or four days afterwards, they applied for an audience to learn her final resolution, and to take leave. The Queen of England referred them to her council, to confer upon the matter; which they positively refused to do, and sent to demand passports, that they might return. Upon this, the Queen sent for them and gave them audience, in presence of her council, as she had done the second time to Monsieur de Beliévre, and holding the same language as she had done to the said Sieur de Beliévre. And the Queen having asked them what security they could give for her life, they replied, that, in addition to the offers of the King, which had already been communicated to them, they offered the engagement of their master, the King of Scotland, and all the Scotch noblemen; and, moreover, if it pleased the Queen to deliver her into the hands of her son, they undertook that the said Queen of Scotland should renounce, in favour of her son, all right which she claimed to the crown

of England, without hope of ever succeeding to it, and with the surety of the King of France, and of all the other princes, her kinsmen, and friends, and they bound themselves also to keep her in safe custody.

To this the Queen answered suddenly and without consideration: "That would be arming my enemy with two claims—whereas, now he has but one—and increasing his power of injuring me."[8] The said ambassadors took hold of this expression; upon which she changed colour, and said, in a milder tone, that she did not consider the said King of Scotland as her enemy, but it was a way of speaking. And, thereupon, in order to soothe them, she began to say, that if any way could be found for securing her life, in sparing the Queen of Scotland, she much wished it, and begged the said Melvin to suggest it. And he, the said Melvin, having entered into a discussion with those of the council then present, in which the Queen affected to be so satisfied with his arguments that she said

[8] It is well known that the maiden queen, like her impetuous father, did not scruple to give increased emphasis to her language by an oath. The master of Gray, in the report of this interview, which he transmitted to his master, King James, represents the Queen as making the following reply to the proposal of the Scotch ambassador. "Then I put myself in a worse case than before; by God's passion, that were to cut my own throat, and for a duchy or an earldome to yourself, you or such as you would cause some of your desperate knaves kill me. No, by God, he shall never be in that place!"

A similar instance occurs in Chateauneuf's despatch of the 13th of May, 1587, which follows (p. 209).

to the High Treasurer that the said Melvin had adduced sound reasons. And the audience broke up, with hopes that the said lady would allow herself to be persuaded; nay, even when they were taking leave of her, with the view of urging her to come to a resolution, she told them that she would see them once more. This last audience was put off for five or six days; and, meanwhile, they saw in private the Earl of Lecestre, the High Treasurer, and others; all of whom they found very hostile to the Queen of Scotland.

During this time, a gentleman of this court, in whom the Queen of England places confidence in important affairs, called upon Monsieur Gray, chief of this embassy, upon pretence of paying him a visit, and, speaking to him on this subject, said, that in truth the queen would always be in danger so long as the Queen of Scotland was alive, and that all the English noblemen who had signed her sentence could not permit her to live, for they saw no security for themselves if she survived the Queen of England; that the renunciation which they proposed she should make, in favour of her son, was worth nothing; but that, perhaps, if the King of Scotland himself would renounce all the right that he claims to the crown of England, in case it should hereafter happen that there was any conspiracy against the life of the Queen of England, that might

serve to satisfy the lords of this kingdom: otherwise, he did not see that there were any means of saving the Queen of Scotland. The said Gray peremptorily rejected this overture, asking, if he had been ordered to hold such language; the other excused himself, saying, it was merely a suggestion of his own.

At the last audience, the queen began by begging them to excuse the expressions she had before used, saying, that she did not mean them to be taken literally. They then asked, pointedly, what answer they were to carry back to their master. She replied, that, after having duly considered and consulted with her council, she could not grant the life of the Queen of Scotland, seeing no security for herself. Whereupon they told her, if such were the case, they were charged by their master to tell her, that he protested all she had done against his mother to be null, as done against a person over whom neither she nor her subjects had any power. And they declared to her, that, on their return, he would assemble his estates, and send to all the Christian princes to consult upon what was to be done.

The queen replied, that she did not think that they had such a commission from their king. They offered to give it her in writing. She said, that she would send to the King their master, to learn the

truth; and, in the mean time, desired them to remain in London. They replied, that their master would not listen to any one sent by her until their return.

When they had got back, they sent off to their master, begging him not to hearken to any one before they returned, and applied so urgently for their leave, that, five or six days afterwards, it was granted; and the queen informed them that she would send one of her council, Monsieur Oulay, immediately after them, to acquaint the King of Scotland, and those of his kingdom more particularly, with all the proceedings that had taken place against the Queen of Scotland. They then petitioned the Queen of England to be pleased to assure them that the execution of the Queen of Scotland should not take place till the return of the said Ouley; which she refused, saying, that if she did this, the King of Scotland would be under the greater obligation to her. Monsieur the Earl of Leicestre promised, in particular, to the said Monsieur Gray, that he would endeavour to prevail upon the queen to stay the execution till the return of the said Ouley.

Hereupon they had their leave, with presents, and set out from London the ....[t] of this month, having paid two visits in public to the Sieur de

[t] The date left blank.

Chasteauneuf, and having always apprized him, day by day, of all that passed in their negociation.

They have not been exempted from calumny invented by those who wish to keep alive the anger of the queen, and who gave her to understand that they were plotting against her. And having bought a good many pistols to give away, Monsieur Gray was sending a pair to my Lord Huygby who was at Court; he who was carrying them, called the Baron of Pruriougby, cousin of the said Gray, was discovered with his pistols, and being apprehended, they were found empty, without any charge whatever; he even mentioned the occasion which caused him to carry them. He was, nevertheless, in great trouble and danger of being imprisoned, if Monsieur Gray had not confirmed what he said; and he was forced to stay at home without going out, until the ambassador had departed. Many other reports were circulated against them and their suites.

After their departure, the lords warmly urged the queen to put the Queen of Scotland to death, and even prevented the said Ouley from being despatched. And in fact, the treason of Stanley occurring in Flanders just at this time; the queen being irritated suffered herself to be persuaded to sign the death warrant. Accordingly, on Saturday last, Monsieur Bele, clerk of the council, was

despatched with an order to the sheriff of the county, to proceed to execution, and an order to the Earl of Sherosbery, and three other noblemen of that neighbourhood, to attend. On Tuesday it was made known to her, that it was the queen's pleasure she should die; whereunto she resigned herself. And on Wednesday, at nine o'clock in the morning, she was conducted from her apartment into the adjoining hall, where a scaffold had been erected, and there, in the presence of all the people of the village, and all the nobility of the country, four of her own servants, and two of her women, her head was cut off. Further particulars will be given when more at leisure.

As for the Low Countries, the states have sent hither four deputies, to confer with the queen on continuing the war next year, and complaining that the queen has not contributed to the expences of the war of last year, as she was bound to do. Some of the said deputies press her to accept the sovereignty of the said provinces; but when the conditions were stated, they could not agree; wherefore the said queen resolved to send over my Lord Bouchost, one of her council, to advise on the spot with those of the country, upon what conditions they would accept her as sovereign. This is merely a delay on her part, to see if, in the

mean time, she can make any agreement with the King of Spain.

At the time that Monsieur de Bellièvre was here, we were informed that a Flemish merchant, named Andrew de Bock, was treating at Antwerp about sending hither the Sieur de Champigny, or a person named Richardet. Immediately after his departure, a secret courier arrived here from the Duke of Parma, who was kept for three days shut up at Greenwich for fear the deputies of the estates should know it, and instantly sent back by way of Calais; those of the States being apprized of the circumstance were extremely urgent to have everything speedily settled, but the queen put them off till the return of my Lord Bouchost.

In the mean time, she is treating with the King of Spain, by way of Portugal, having six days ago sent a Portuguese merchant living here, named Bernard de Quys, to Lisbon, under pretence of traffic, but who carries letters from Monsieur de Walsingham to a person named Castille, formerly ambassador here for Sebastian, King of Portugal, but at present in the service of the King of Spain in that quarter. The letter of Walsingham is in reply to one written to him by Castille at the commencement of the war, in which he offered to be mediator between the king, his master, and the

queen, and, since that time, no answer had been given from this side.

There was a Spaniard here named Pietro Sarmento de Gamboa, who, having been prisoner here all last summer, was returning through France, when he was apprehended near Bordeaulx, and taken to la Rochelle. He had, whilst here, two interviews with the queen, and treated with those of the council concerning the means of reconciling these two sovereigns (as I informed the king last summer). They appeared much vexed; and the queen had so much confidence in his negociation, that she has sent a gentleman express to the King of Navarre, to obtain his release; and those of the council have spoken of it here to Buzanvil in very harsh terms. They say, very generally, that the Catholic King is anxious for peace, and that M. de Champigny will shortly be here.

As to the affairs of the King of Navarre, he has sent hither the Sieur de la Roche Gisard, of Brittany, who had, on Wednesday, an audience of the queen, at which, as I have been told, he explained to her the necessity to which the said king is reduced, which will compel him to yield to make peace, unless he is succoured by her in good earnest. Whereupon she promised to give him an answer in a few days, at the same time representing the danger which the said king would incur if

he laid down his arms without good security, especially when the succours from Germany were so near at hand, and which he could not obtain another time. The said lady expects news from the Duke of Parma, if she sees any likelihood of coming to an accommodation with the Catholic king.

Ships are equipping here in haste, to oppose to the naval forces of the said king. At present, there are but six of the queen's ships, and ten belonging to private persons, at sea, and it is very evident that there is a great want of seamen.

Done at London, the xxvth February, 1587.

This paper did not reach the king till after the receipt of the following despatch.

M. de Chateauneuf to King Henry III.

Sire, your majesty will, no doubt, be astonished to learn the news of the death of the Queen of Scotland by common report, which will have reached Paris before receiving information of it from me; but, sire, your majesty will be pleased to excuse me, when I tell you that the ports of this kingdom have been so strictly closed, as to render it impossible for me to despatch a single messenger; and, what is more, that, having a passport under a different name from my own, he whom I sent was

apprehended at Dover, with his passport, where he still remains, although I despatched him on the 19th of this month, in the afternoon..

On Saturday, the 14th, Mr. Bele, brother-in-law of Mr. de Walsingham, was despatched towards evening with a commission, signed by the queen's own hand, for beheading the Queen of Scotland, and an order to the Earls of Sherosbery, Kent, and Roteland, with many other gentlemen of the neighbourhood of Fotheringay, to attend the said execution. The said Sieur Bele took with him the executioner of this city, who, I have heard, was dressed entirely in black velvet, and they set off very secretly on Saturday night: he arrived there in the evening of Monday the 16th, and on Tuesday messengers were sent to the said earls and gentlemen. In the evening of the same day Mr. Paulet, keeper of the Queen of Scotland, accompanied by the said Bele and the sheriff of the county, (that is the person who performs the office of provost marshal, or criminal judge in each bailiwick) waited upon the said queen, and communicated to her the will of the queen, who was compelled to put in execution the sentence of her parliament. It is reported that the said lady showed great firmness, saying that, though she never had believed that the queen, her sister, intended to come to this, yet for the last three months she had found

herself reduced to such extreme misery, that she looked upon death as a happy release, and was ready to receive it whenever it pleased God: they proposed to leave with her a minister, but she would not have him.

There is a spacious hall in the said castle, where was erected a scaffold covered with black cloth, with a cushion of black velvet. On Wednesday, at nine o'clock, the aforesaid earls, with her keeper, went to fetch the said lady, whom they found very firm, and, having dressed herself, she was led into the said hall, followed by her steward, Mr. Melvin, her surgeon and her apothecary, and another of her servants: she desired her women to attend her, which they were permitted to do, but all the rest of her servants had been kept in confinement since Tuesday evening. It is said she took some refreshment before she left her apartment. On reaching the scaffold, she desired Mr. Paulet to assist her up the steps, saying it would be the last trouble she should give him. There, upon her knees, she conversed for a long time with her steward, commanding him to go to her son, whom she felt assured he would always serve as faithfully as he had done her, and who would recompense him, which she had not been able to do while living, for which she was very sorry; and she charged him to carry him her blessing (which she pronounced at the

same time:) she then prayed to God in Latin with her women, as she would not allow an English bishop who was present to come near her, declaring that she was a Catholic, and that she would die in that religion. After that, she asked Mr. Paulet if the queen, her sister, had approved the will which she had made a fortnight before, in favour of her unfortunate servants. He replied that she did, and that she would take care that all her directions relative to the distribution of the money should be fulfilled. She spoke of Nau, Curl, and Pasquier, who are in prison, but I have not yet heard for certain what she said about them: she then began to pray again, and even to comfort her women who were weeping, and prepared for death with great fortitude; one of her women then bandaged her eyes, she laid her head upon the block, and the executioner, having cut it off, held it up to the view of all present; for more than three hundred persons of the village and other neighbouring places had been admitted into the said hall. The body was immediately covered with a black cloth, and carried back to her apartment, where I have heard that it was opened and embalmed. The Earl of Sherosbery immediately despatched his son to the queen, to carry her the news of this execution, which took place on Wednesday, the 18th of this month, at ten o'clock in

the morning, and on Thursday morning, at nine o'clock, the said messenger arrived at Grenwich. I know not if he spoke with the queen, who on that day rode out on horseback, and on her return had a long interview with the King of Portugal (Don Antonio). The same day, Thursday, I sent off a messenger to your majesty, to bring you these tidings, which were not long kept secret, for at three o'clock in the afternoon all the bells in the city began ringing, and bonfires were made in every street, with feasts and banquets, in token of great rejoicing.

Such, sire, is a true account of all that took place. The servants of the said lady are still prisoners, and will not be released for a month, being more closely guarded than ever in the said castle of Fotheringhay; the three others are still in prison in this city, and it is not yet known whether they are to suffer death, or to be set at liberty. Since the said execution, Mr. Roger[u] and I have sent every day to apply for a passport, that we might apprize your majesty of the death of the said lady, but this has been refused, saying that the queen did not wish your majesty to be informed of this execution by any other than the person whom she herself would send to you; in fact, the ports have

[u] Valet de chambre of the king, sent by Henry III. with letters for Queen Elizabeth and instructions for M. de Chateauneuf.

been so strictly guarded for the last fortnight, that no one has left this kingdom with the exception of a person named Pintre, whom the queen has despatched to Mr. de Stafort, to acquaint your majesty with the said execution. The rumour is that the said lady when dying persisted in declaring herself to be innocent; that she had never thought of compassing the death of the queen; that she had prayed to God for the Queen of England; and that she charged Melvin to tell the King of Scotland, her son, that she begged him to honour the Queen of England as his mother, and never to forfeit her friendship.

I have told you above, that young Cherosbery arrived at Grenvich at nine o'clock on Thursday morning; that by noon we were all acquainted with the news; that all the bells began ringing at three, with bonfires in all the streets, so that the people in this quarter even came to my house to ask for wood for the fire that was made in my street. On Friday those of the council sent the clerk of the signet to speak to me relative to the seizure which they alleged to have been made at Dieppe, of the queen's packets, saying that on that day Jean Musnyer, courier of Calais, had been brought to the court, bearing several letters from your majesty and others for me, the which they had detained, having resolved not to deliver them to

me till the release of the things stopped at Dieppe; begging me to devise some means of opening the communications, otherwise they could not deliver my letters. I thought this very strange, and replied that I should complain about it to your majesty; that, as they withheld my packets, I could not tell whether the communications were closed, or for what reason.

On the following day, Saturday, they sent Mr. Ouley, councillor of state, to repeat the same thing, and to beg me to consult with him upon some expedient for opening the communications, otherwise I could not have my packets: he proposed that I should write to the Governor of Dieppe, to desire him to allow the packets of the queen to pass. I observed to him that if the said governor had detained the said couriers by order of your majesty, as there was reason to believe, my letter would answer no purpose; he told me that they would be satisfied if I would but say in my letter, that, provided he had not detained them by the express command of your majesty, he should release them, and this I agreed to do in presence of Mr. Roger, and he appeared satisfied. We complained to him that Mr. Roger was still here, having been detained a fortnight, without being able to obtain an audience of the queen; that we had been prevented from informing your majesty

of the death of the Queen of Scotland; that our packets were stopped both in going to your majesty, and in coming from your majesty to us; begging him to remonstrate with the queen and the members of the council. He excused the delay of Mr. Roger's audience, under plea of the many engagements of the queen. As for the death of the Queen of Scotland, he said that her majesty had been compelled to this step for the safety of her life, and the peace of her kingdom; and he was sure that I must be convinced of the necessity which had forced the queen to take it; whereupon he talked a great deal upon the subject, to hear what I should say about it; for, in fact, they had sent him to me merely to learn what I should say concerning this execution.

After he had done, I replied, that, so long as the Queen of Scotland lived, your majesty had always given her your protection, and that I had, by your orders, done all in my power to save her life; that the efforts which I had made to this end had given such great displeasure to certain persons, that they had invented a very stupid calumny against me, but which I hoped would turn to their shame, when the queen became acquainted with the truth. Now that the said Queen of Scotland was dead, I had nothing more to do than to apprize your majesty of it; while awaiting your commands,

I could neither talk nor answer any questions about the matter; but that, being refused a passport to enable me to acquaint you with the event, I had not cared to give them any answer for a long time; that I begged them to send me my packets, and to obtain an audience for Mr. Roger.

He went away apparently quite satisfied, and on Sunday the queen sent for the said Mr. Roger, but without sending our letters; he went to the court, but, upon his arrival, was informed, by Messrs. the Admiral and Chamberlain, that the queen was indisposed, and begged him to excuse her for that day; but that, if he would deliver to them his letters, and read his credentials, they had been ordered to hear them. He gave them his letters, and read his credentials, although he had no need to do so; but as he had already waited a fortnight, we had agreed that he should read them; besides, there was a second packet in their hands, concerning which we thought it very likely that there would be something to say to the queen. After listening to him, the aforesaid gentlemen went in to the queen, and on their return conducted him to Mr. High Treasurer. When in presence of the council, they begged him to show his credentials, which he did; he had no answer from them, but a complaint of the stoppage of their packets, and saying, that nevertheless they would not give up

ours (and, in fact, mine are still in their possession. This, sire, was what passed up to Sunday).

On Monday we were informed that the queen, on hearing of the execution, was highly exasperated; that she had put on mourning; that she complained of those of her council, and especially of Davison, her secretary of state, who, on Tuesday evening, was sent prisoner to the Tower. On Wednesday she sent again for Mr. Roger (to whom the gentlemen of the council sent the day before the letters of your majesty, which were for him, retaining mine). There the queen said to him, that she was deeply afflicted by the death of the Queen of Scotland; that it never was her intention to have her put to death, although she had refused the request of M. de Belièvre; she said that Davison had taken her by surprise, but he was now in a place where he would have to answer for it; charging him to say this to your majesty, with every demonstration of grief, and almost with tears in his eyes, as the said Sieur Roger will tell you, together with many other things of importance, which he is charged to communicate to you.

This, sire, is all that has occurred relative to the death of the Queen of Scotland, in the narration of which I wished to add nothing concerning myself, deferring that for some other opportunity. The queen makes a show of being highly displeased

with those of her council about this execution, which she said they had hurried more than she intended, but in particular with Davisson, who had delivered the warrant to Mr. Bele; for the Queen says that, when signing it, she told him not to deliver it without first speaking to her. He excused himself by saying, he did not hear this order; that he has done nothing but by the command of the council, and especially of the treasurer, with whom the queen is said to be very angry. Mr. de Walsingham, who has been absent from court for two months, for the benefit of his health, has been ordered to investigate and to report upon this affair; he returned on Tuesday last, and on his arrival the queen peremptorily forbade him to mention Davisson's name to her.

Such, sire, is the present state of this affair. It is said that parliament will open on Monday, and that it will take under its protection the said Davisson, who has done nothing but execute the sentence of the said parliament; added to which, the said Davisson being a councillor of state, and a member of parliament, cannot be tried by any but those of the parliament, who will readily acquit him. The queen has sent a gentleman to Scotland, to excuse the death of the queen, upon the plea of her having been taken unawares.

I now come, sire, to what concerns myself.

Your majesty will have perceived, by a despatch of the 17th, which I forwarded by my steward, that M. Roger had not been able to obtain an audience, though he had attended at court for six successive days. On Sunday, 22nd, as I before mentioned, he showed his credentials to the council, and particularly complained of the detention of Destrappes, and what had occurred at the treasurer's, to which they made no reply. On Wednesday, 25th, the queen sent for him, when he presented his credentials, and told her, besides, what your majesty had written in your letter of the 14th, after the audience of Wade; begging that she would place Destrappes in my hands, to be sent to your majesty, that you may examine, and punish him should he be found guilty; likewise, that the queen would be pleased to grant me an audience, that I might justify myself towards her; she refused both one and the other, saying, she should wait for intelligence from Wade; he told her Wade had been heard, as she would perceive by his letter; to this he could get no other answer, than that she would write to your majesty, complaining bitterly that I had not revealed a conspiracy formed against her, but without saying that I had either planned or instigated it, nor yet did any of her council allege that I had instigated the conspiracy, so clearly do they see the imposture of Stafort, who is known to

be the most worthless man in this kingdom. The said Roger then applied for the depositions of the said Destrappes, Stafort, and Moudé, that he might take them to your majesty, representing that Wade had carried only very brief extracts, upon which no judgment could possibly be formed; at which she affected great surprise, and said, that Wade had carried the depositions in full, and which were signed by their own hand, and that she had given orders to that effect.

This, sire, is all the information I can give you on this subject, excepting that when the said Roger, on retiring from the audience, waited upon M. de Walsingham, to whom he related all that had passed at his audience, and complained of the refusal the queen had given him, he begged him to have patience for two or three days longer, saying, that the queen was at present much incensed on account of the death of the Queen of Scotland; but that he would speak to her, and endeavour to soften her. I cannot answer the letter which your majesty wrote to me on the 14th, for it is still in their hands, with all the others addressed to me; such a thing as was never before seen or heard of. Lastly, sire, they complain of the arrest of their merchants, and of the ports being closed, thinking that they are authorised to do both themselves, and that nobody has a right to resent it. In con-

sequence of this delay, I have at length consented to dispatch one of my people with one of theirs to Calays, and have written to M. Gourdon to permit both to pass; and, notwithstanding this, I cannot obtain my packets. I most humbly beseech your majesty to be pleased to believe that all that has been alleged against me is pure calumny, invented by those who have had the audacity to put the Queen of Scotland to death, without the consent of the queen their mistress, as time will show; and to take honour and innocence under your protection.

As, in consequence of the said queen's death, her estates, which she held in dower, revert to your majesty, with the casualties belonging to them, if you should be pleased to bestow on me any of these, I shall feel still more encouraged to perform my very humble service. Praying God to grant your majesty a very long and very happy life. From London, this 27th February, 1587.

Your very humble and very obedient
Subject and servant,
DE L'AUBESPINE CHASTEAUNEUF.

M. de Courcelles to King Henry III.

Sire, having heretofore written to your majesty what I had been able to learn respecting the in-

tentions of your good nephew, the King of Scotland, on the death of the late queen, his mother, and what he had desired Mr. de Glasgo to say in his name to your majesty, and to his relations and friends in France, I have since been informed that, to spare the expense of sending an ambassador into Spain, but more particularly to avoid the malicious interpretation which the ministers and Protestants of this kingdom might put upon such a step, he has ordered the said Sr. de Glasgo to wait upon the Spanish ambassador residing at your majesty's court, and to beg him to make his excuses to the king his sovereign, if he does not send expressly to condole with him on the death of the late queen his mother, desiring above all that he will be pleased to assist him with his good counsel and the means of avenging the cruel execution which has been done upon her, and to treat with the said ambassador in such manner as he may deem proper for the good of his affairs, and for the reparation of the injury which has been done him; the which, sire, several persons have been of late endeavouring to make him forget by industrious artifices, either by occupying his mind with other matters upon which they think to fix it, such as the maintenance of the Protestant church, persuading him to compel each of his subjects to make a profession of faith, and, upon this pretext, urging

him to search out the Catholics, for fear they may bring upon him some descent of the Spaniards in this kingdom, or by the malicious reports which they have made to him respecting some noblemen, his subjects, who, as they say, neglect his orders and contravene the laws of the kingdom by favouring and assisting the marauders on the borders.

And, in order to accomplish their intentions the more easily, they represented to him, being in council three weeks ago, that in all kingdoms there have been, in all ages, certain established laws and customs, as well to hold the people in the obedience which they owe to their prince, as for the safety of the latter, with edicts threatening certain punishments for those who should infringe them; and upon such grounds the states of this kingdom, after due consideration, had enacted, for the common weal, certain laws as well for the encouragement, increase, and preservation of the true religion, and for the abolition of all papistical ceremonies (as they termed them), as also for the observance of the commandment of God, which is to love one's neighbour as one's self, and not to let him be oppressed and trodden under foot by thieves and robbers, who, they could assert, had never before met with such protection in that kingdom as they do at present from the justices and warders stationed on the borders of this country to keep order there,

wherefore they cannot but be judged deserving the punishment ordained by the said laws for the transgression of them: moreover, that the nobles and people of this said kingdom being ready to rise and take up arms on the first bad impression they receive, and it being certain that the King of Spain was endeavouring to subjugate and bring under his yoke the Low Countries, to deprive the inhabitants of their privileges, and to constrain them in their consciences, that, after having thus reduced them, he may turn his forces against this kingdom, and establish himself here with the aid and assistance of the principal lords who profess popery, and who have for this purpose conspired with the said King of Spain, without, however, giving any intimation to the other Catholics here, who are of lower condition, and who, one may be sure, in case any commotion on account of religion should take place, would be ready to assist with all their might, and to join themselves to the forces of the said King of Spain, if they were to land, and with them to overrun the country, to the great prejudice of this said king and his kingdom, and to the subversion of all the laws, both ecclesiastical and civil, of this country, which by such means would be brought under the just tyranny and usurpation of the Pope of Rome, it was necessary by all possible means to prevent such an enterprise, which might be done,

in the first place, by the union of the Church of this kingdom, each of its subjects making a profession of his faith, and by the obedience which each of the lords shall render to the king their sovereign, and which they shall attest in writing, signed by their hands, whereby they shall promise to associate and unite themselves inviolably with him in all his undertakings, and render him all obedience, without infringing his orders and commands, in any way or manner whatever; to defend and maintain his authority in deed and word, in opposition to all those who may dispute it, but especially to the tyranny of foreigners professing a different religion from that established in this said kingdom, who, in case they should attempt to enter or undertake any thing against it, and in case they transgress against this directly or indirectly, shall be held guilty of high treason, and punished as such, according to the laws and customs of the country.

And as they judged that these propositions which they put forth would not be well received by some of the lords of this kingdom, and especially the Catholics, who would not willingly assent to them, they concluded among themselves (as I have been informed), sire, that, to carry into effect the result of their deliberations, it was necessary to seize some of the said Catholics, and particularly the Earl of Morton. Accordingly, the following

day, the king mounted on horseback, and with those of his council took the road to Dunfris, where, without stopping day or night, he arrived, hoping, it is said, to surprise the aforesaid Earl of Morton, and compel him to answer to the unfavourable impressions produced in his mind against him —that he had mass said regularly; that he held communication with the Spaniards; that he had shut his eyes to the thefts and depredations committed daily by the marauders on the borders of his kingdom, which was contrary to the commission which he held; and, above all, that he would not obey any of his commands: but the said Sieur de Morton, having been apprized of this journey, and that the king was incensed against him by the persuasion of some who were his enemies, absented himself from the said Dunfris, so that the said king being unable to find him, after putting a stop to the malversations on the said borders, returned to this city, without further annoying the said Sieur de Morton about what had been concluded, nor any of the others; having, however, issued orders for him to leave this said kingdom; which he appears quite willingly to obey, and is preparing, they say, sire, to go over to France; but I have been informed that, should he be compelled to leave, he has determined to go to the King of Spain, with whom many suppose that he and the other Catho-

lics of this kingdom are in communication. Nay, one of them informed me, a few days since, that, *in the month of August "next, or at least in harvest time, there are to arrive here some Spanish troops, by means of which they hope to re-establish the Catholic religion in this kingdom, and then to proceed into England,"*[v] of which the king has had some intelligence; but, whether considering it as uncertain, or that he has not the means of opposing it but by some secret enterprise, he affects ignorance of it; and although his council have remonstrated with him, he postponed the parliament, which was to have been held on the last day of the last month, until the xxth of the present, on which occasion it is thought there will be a great number of the noblemen of this kingdom, all the private quarrels between whom he manifests a desire to adjust, as the only means of strengthening himself against his enemies.

During his journey to Dunfris, I received by Le Couldray, who is with Monsieur d'Aunevals, the letter which your majesty was pleased to write me on the 14th of last March, and, agreeably to which, I waited on the King of Scotland on his return, and informed him that, from the knowledge you had of the great affection he bore to the late queen

[v] The lines in italic are in cipher in the original, with a translation on the margin.

his mother, you were convinced that he must have been very indignant at the cruel execution which the Queen of England and her ministers had since done upon her, the which execution was the more lamentable inasmuch as it had been done upon a sovereign princess, after being detained captive like a malefactor for the space of nineteen whole years, to be sacrificed at last to men steeped in crime, if any ever were, who, without her ever having given them offence, had become her enemies, and without cause conceived such hatred against her, that they could not be satisfied but by shedding her pure and innocent blood; that the only thing wanting to complete their gratification, was to see her heart fail her under all her afflictions and hardships, but that it had pleased God not to grant them the power, notwithstanding the torments they had inflicted on her, to shake her fortitude, for she had shown not less constancy in her adversity than she had done moderation and prudence in her prosperity; and that if, for such a cruel execution, and several other injuries which different princes and states had received from the Queen of England and her ministers, she and they are not visited with some punishment from God, it must be believed that he has thought fit to grant them most especial favour; but that it is impossible to help thinking that in his just judgment he will inflict on them some con-

dign punishment for this cruelty and for their demerits, and which may serve as an example to our successors, that their utter reprobation had been the cause of their too great prosperity, by which they have been rendered insolent and incapable of controlling themselves, full of arrogance, audacious in evil doing, eager to disturb their own peace and happiness by new things, even by so cruel an execution, and thereby to make themselves odious to all mankind, and to offend all the kings and sovereign princes in the world, among others your majesty, to whom she was so nearly allied, but especially him, whose mother she was, who has thereby received the greatest injury which could possibly be done him, and which was highly prejudicial to the safety of his life, for which he had now more cause to fear than during the lifetime of the late queen his mother, as they who put her to death had now but him alone as a competitor for the crown of England. Whereupon, sire, he replied, that from his actions one might judge with what affection he had exerted himself to save the life of the queen his mother, but that he had been unable to obtain any thing from the Queen of England, who had proved cruel and unmerciful to her, and who wished, nevertheless, to persuade him, by the gentleman whom she had lately sent to him, as well as by letters written to him with her own

hand, that the murder, as he told me she herself calls it, had taken place without her knowledge, with some lame excuses, and the grief which she declared that it caused her, as he circumstantially related to me, but with which I will not weary your majesty, sire, being the same as I informed you of in my preceding letters.

I shall only tell you that he observed to me that this being an injury which concerns generally all the princes his neighbours, he considered it advisable not to undertake any thing in the way of revenging it but by advice and counsel, and especially that of your majesty, sire, who are included in this contempt and insult, as are also her relations in France; and to this end he had sent to Mons. de Glasgo, whom he has chosen, and whom, by letters which he is writing to you, he appoints hereditary ambassador, most express directions to beseech you very affectionately to give him your good advice and counsel in what you may deem befitting his welfare and honour, for the reparation of an injury so ignominious and a murder so cruel; which he hopes your said majesty will do, though he has been told that, since the death of the queen his mother, you had entered into much closer friendship with the Queen of England than before. I replied, sire, that it was my opinion your majesty would be highly satisfied as to the choice which he had made of M^r. de

Glasco as his ambassador at your court, and that he could not have applied to any king or prince from whom he might expect more salutary advice and counsel, or who would feel more solicitude for the prosperity and advancement of his affairs, without any private interest, than your majesty, who consider him not only as your old friend, neighbour, and ally, but as your own nephew; your majesty trusting on your part that he will reciprocally show how much he values the friendship of your majesty, and how desirous he is of retaining it after the example of his predecessors. He told me that he had not the least doubt of your majesty's goodwill towards him, having had abundant proofs of it in numberless good offices, which he will always be ready to return by his best efforts.

He then began to talk of his journey to Dunfris, and the order which he had given to prevent the robberies and pillage which were daily committed by the marauders dwelling on the western borders of his kingdom, whose mode of life he took the trouble to describe to me. I told him that he deserved great praise for such an enterprise; by which he had shewn himself the protector of the oppressed, as also for the diligence he had used in putting down the said marauders, who might be kept for the future in greater obedience, and restrained from doing

harm, since he himself had thus taken the trouble to visit them in person. And, after some further conversation on indifferent subjects, he retired.

About three weeks since, sire, he received letters from England, which, amongst other things, represented that the Queen of England, as being innocent of the execution of the queen his mother, could not offer him any reparation for it, inasmuch as that would be acknowledging herself in fault towards him; but if he would mention any thing that he may desire of her, such as being declared the second person in England, or such conditions as he may consider advantageous to himself, the councillors of the Queen of England, who confess themselves guilty, but who, nevertheless, cannot make any offer of satisfaction for this injury because they are subjects of the Queen of England, will strive by all means in their power to act in such a manner as on every occasion to satisfy him, and to make him forget the grudge which he may bear them. And Archibald Duglas sends him word, that if he will intimate his wishes, and what he desires of the Queen of England, he considers his affairs to be in such a train, that he thinks he would be likely to obtain it; but, at the same time, he is not so sure of his success, as to advise him to desist from applying to his old friends, kinsmen, and allies; but,

in case he should not obtain any thing from them, it would be advisable not to reject or let slip this opportunity, which he considers the surest and most certain for his welfare and his advancement to the crown of England. The person who brought these letters has been sent back to-day, and is soon to be followed, as I have heard, by George Jong, clerk of the council. I will endeavour to learn the object of his mission, and will not fail to give your majesty all the information I can obtain.

Three days ago, sire, Mr. Gray was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, upon a charge preferred against him by William Stuart, brother of him who was formerly Earl of Haran, that he had given him letters and instructions forged by the said Gray in the name of this king, as it is said, and addressed to Monsieur de Guyse and M. de Glasgo, with some credentials to be shewn to them on his behalf. It is, however, believed here, sire, that his life is not in danger, provided there is no other charge against him; but it is much to be feared that, at the next meeting of parliament, he will be accused of having advised and consented to the execution of the late Queen of Scotland, and many persons are of opinion that he will have the utmost difficulty to clear himself from the charge.

Sire, I pray God to give your majesty perfect

health, and a very long and very happy life. At Edinburgh, the xiith day of May, 1587.

Your very humble and very obedient
servant and subject,
DE COURCELLES.

M. de Chateauneuf to King Henry III.

Sire, your majesty will have perceived by my last despatch that the Queen of England released Destrappes on the 29th of last month. Since then, I have had many conferences with the Sr. de Walsingham respecting your affairs; the said lady sent me word to wait upon her at Croydon, at the house of the Archbishop of Canterbury, where she was going to take the air for four or five days. I did so on Saturday, the 6th of this month, the day fixed upon by her. On alighting at the inn where I intended to dine, the gentlemen of her council sent me an invitation to dine with them at the palace, where there were seven or eight of the principal of them who paid me greater honour than they had ever done before; and, immediately after dinner, I went, accompanied by them all, to the said lady, who received me still more graciously; and, having spoken to her about urgent matters, such as the circumstance of the depredations, and the voyage of the Sr. de Caillon, which has caused much alarm

here, she replied to me in the most courteous and polite manner possible, without my saying a word about Destrappes, a subject which I had resolved not to speak of at this first audience, but merely to treat of public affairs, as, in fact, she received me in presence of her whole court and my own suite, who were admitted into her private chamber. She told me that she was very glad to learn the object of Crillon's mission, but was astonished that he had not travelled by land, and she sent for a map to examine the route from Dieppe to Boulogne, not forgetting to tell me that, as he was going against those of the League, she was ready to afford him every assistance, and had given orders to that effect the day before, when informed of the matter by her ambassador, to whom Monsieur d'Espernon had spoken, adding that, if your majesty needed her forces, money, and munition to be employed against those of the League, they should be at your service. I thanked her, sire, and said that your majesty had no need of the forces of your neighbours, as God had given you sufficient to chastise all those who would not obey you; that I had never understood the troops your majesty was sending to Boulogne had any other object than the reinforcement of the garrisons there and at Calais, and which were sent by sea on account of its being more convenient. She replied that she was aware that Monsieur d'Aumalle had an army in

Picardy, that he had taken a great many towns, and that your majesty had sent Monsieur de Nevers with more troops to command in the said province, and a world of other news which she had received from Paris; whereto I replied that I had not heard any of those particulars.

She then made some remarks on the English vessels detained in France, and on the closing of the ports. I told her that she had been the first to order the ports to be closed, as likewise my despatches to be withheld, and the French vessels in this kingdom to be detained; that your majesty was obliged to do the same in France, in consequence of the great complaints made by your subjects of the depredations committed upon them by the English and Dutch, and for which I could not obtain any satisfaction. She told me that she had commissioned four of the principal members of her council, to wit, the high treasurer, the admiral, Lord Cobham, and the S^r. de Walsyngham, to treat with me upon this matter, and in future to do justice to your subjects and all other foreigners who complained; meanwhile, she begged me to write and entreat you to release all her subjects, as she would release all yours, assuring me those four would do prompt and summary justice. On my taking leave, she begged me to confer with them for the future, in order to adjust the differences that may arise between your

subjects and hers relative to trade. I replied that I wished very much to know what commission she had given to those gentlemen, in order that I might send a copy to your majesty, as you had commanded me; especially a year ago she had given directions to three of them, with whom I had a great many conferences, but which all ended in smoke, and came to nothing. She said that it was not the custom in England to give a commission in writing, especially to members of her council, who, in such capacity, exercise full power in this kingdom; but that, when occasion required, the sovereign was accustomed to appoint, by word of mouth, certain persons of his council to settle particular affairs. I begged her to be pleased to give them a special commission, as I did not wish to negociate with them unless in writing, to avoid a great many little disputes which arise in the execution of things. She told me that she would consider of it; and, nevertheless, begged me to go down with them to the council-chamber, which I did; we there agreed, subject to the approbation of your majesties, upon what you will see in the written memorandum, which I have kept separate that it may not interfere with this despatch.

I forgot to tell you, sire, that I complained of the English and Dutch having begun to stop the vessels laden with wheat, bound from Dantzic to France, contrary to what they had promised M^r.

de Bellièvre and me and the passports which they had granted us; whereupon she said that our conference would remedy every thing. And, as she was very desirous of speaking to me about the death of the Queen of Scotland, and I, on the other hand, was anxious to get away without touching upon that subject, or upon the affair of Destrappes; she could not forbear calling the Sieur de Walsyngham, and telling him to conduct me to the council chamber, and, taking my arm, she said, laughing, "Here is the man who wanted to get me murdered;" and, seeing me smile, she added, that it was a thing she had never believed, as her letter to your majesty would bear witness, nor had she ever complained to the Sieur Roger, except of my having said I was not bound to reveal any thing to her, even though her life was in danger; that I had only spoken as an ambassador, but that she had always considered me to be a man of honour, who loved her, and to whom she could intrust her life; and it was in that quality she had complained of me, not as an ambassador; that she had been aware of the truth, and that it was a trick of two knaves, one of whom, Moudé, was wicked enough to commit any bad action for money; and, as for the other, she would not name him, for the sake of those to whom he belonged; but that now she loved and esteemed me more than ever; that allowances ought to be

made for the times and the anger of sovereigns; that, as she had before written to your majesty against me, she would now write in my favour, and assure your majesty that she believed me to be perfectly innocent of such an act, whereby she should show that she was willing to give way first, that you might have reason to love her, and grant an audience to her ambassador, and to give orders for the release of the vessels of her subjects: all that she said being evidently prepared beforehand, to get herself out of the scrape.

I replied: "Madam, I have come hither to treat of the affairs of the king my master, and for no other purpose; I have never considered that the duties of a man of honour differ from those of an ambassador; nor will I ever be guilty of an act derogatory to the dignity of my office and of my honour; I never said that I would not reveal any conspiracy against your person, were I to see it in danger, but that an ambassador was not compelled to reveal any thing, unless he chose to do so, and neither for that nor for any other thing could he be amenable to the laws of the country; that you consider me innocent of the fact is a great satisfaction to me, and even that you are pleased to bear testimony in my behalf to the king; but still I entreat you to give me permission to send Destrappes to him, that from his lips the matter may be cleared

up, for the satisfaction of his majesty and for my acquittal." She replied there was no need of further acquittal; that Destrappes was at liberty to go whenever he pleased, and she would order a passport to be given him, adding that he had fallen into this trouble through an accident, for which she felt much grieved, knowing for certain that he was innocent. She then used the following words: — "I have made inquiries about him, and have learned that he is of the profession of the law, and intends to follow it in Paris. I am sorry for the ill that I have brought upon him, for which he will bear me a grudge as long as he lives; but tell him I hope never to have a cause to plead in Paris, where he might have an opportunity of revenging himself for the wrong I have done him." Such, sire, were her very words, which I have repeated to your majesty, to show that she acknowledges the truth of what I have always written to you— that this calumny against me was invented by these people here, solely to serve their own ends, and then to report the whole affair in France.

I thought to take leave of the said lady without making any answer respecting Destrappes, or entering upon the subject of the Queen of Scotland; but, as I was standing, she took my hand, and led me into a corner of the apartment, and said that, since she had seen me, she had experienced one of

the greatest misfortunes and vexations that had ever befallen her, which was the death of her cousin-germain, of which she vowed to God, with many oaths, that she was innocent; that she had indeed signed the warrant, but it was only to satisfy her subjects, and that it was for the same reason she had given a refusal to the ambassadors of France and Scotland; yet it was never her intention to put her to death, unless she had seen a foreign army invade England, or a great insurrection of her subjects in favour of the aforesaid Queen of Scotland; then she confessed that perhaps she might have put her to death, otherwise she would never have given her consent. That the members of her council, and, among others, the four who were present (but whose names she did not mention) had played her a trick which she could never forgive; and she swore, by God, that but for their long services, and also because what they had done had been out of consideration for the welfare and safety of her person and of the state, they should have lost their heads. She begged me to believe that she was not so wicked as to throw the blame upon an humble secretary if it were not true; that this death will wring her heart as long as she lives on many accounts, but principally, sire, for her respect for the queen your mother, and for monseigneur your late brother, whom she so dearly loved, that

she is ready to satisfy you upon this point; and she begged me particularly to do in this matter all the good offices which a minister, who desires to see peace between the two crowns, ought to do; that she should for ever feel obliged to me, adding, that if I approved it, she would consider about sending to your majesty a nobleman of importance for this purpose, and knit the bonds of friendship with you more firmly than ever, wishing me to be the instrument here of accomplishing this, repeating her protestations that she loved and honoured you, and desired your welfare, prosperity, and health, more than her own; that she offered you her men, money, and ships, against your enemies, and likewise the friendship of four German princes, who had written to her that they were ready to assist against those of the League with a goodly force, fully equipped, which would already have entered your kingdom had she not kept them back; that if your majesty wished to avail yourself of these forces, she would engage to procure them for you: if, on the contrary, you were inclined to follow the counsels of those of the League, she protested that she would not meddle, in any way, with the affairs of your subjects, but that then she should consider her own security; that the Catholic king was daily making offers of peace and friendship, but she would not listen to them, knowing his ambition; on the

contrary, she had sent Drake to ravage his own coasts, and was considering about sending the Earl of Lecestre to Holand to show that she was not afraid of war; with so many other observations against those of the League, that your majesty may easily conceive, from the length of this despatch, that she had well prepared herself for this audience, in which she detained me for three good hours, as I let her say all she pleased.

Deeming it my duty to obtain some answer, I told her that I was very glad that she desired the friendship of your majesty, knowing how serviceable it had been to her formerly; that I believed you entertained similar sentiments on your part, as I was a witness that, for two years, your majesty had never swerved from them; that I should consider myself highly honoured in being the instrument of so good a work, tending to the benefit of all Christendom; and, as was her pleasure, from my having held this post in such troublesome times, that I should be the instrument of bringing things into a better train than they seemed to be; it was also my wish, but it was necessary that I should tell her frankly that, if she desired your friendship, she must desire it by deeds, and not by words: to assist with money and ammunition those who are in arms against you, to instigate the German troops to enter France, to refuse to do justice to any of your

plundered subjects, to treat your ambassador as she had treated me for the last four months, was not courting your friendship in the way that it should be sought. "Madam," said I, "there are three sovereigns in Christendom: the king my master, the Catholic king, and your majesty—under these three Christianity is stirring. You cannot quarrel with the other two, madam, without great injury to yourself; you are at open war with the one, and the other has every reason to believe that the civil war in his kingdom is raised and fomented by your means and counsels; now, opinion can only be changed by deeds, and not by words. We indeed believe that you can have peace with the Catholic king whenever you please; but this can only be done by restoring all that you hold in the Low Countries, in which case you will need the friendship of the king my master more than ever; and, therefore, madam, think of satisfying the king, if you please, since you are so desirous of his friendship."

Throughout this answer, sire, I purposely avoided any allusion to the death of the Queen of Scotland, because I had no commands on that point from you; I am certain, however, that they are extremely anxious to hear what your majesty will say to the Sieur de Staffort when he shall excuse this deed. The said lady told me in reply that she was not as-

sisting the King of Navarre against your majesty, but against the Guises, who were striving to ruin him, intending then to fasten upon her at the instigation of the Catholic king; that, a fortnight ago, the Prince of Parma had boasted that he should go to France to join them, and then come and make war in her kingdom, but that she would take good care to prevent him; that she was not minded to give up what she held in the Low Countries, swearing an oath that she would not let either the King of Spain, or the Guises, make game of a poor old creature, who had the body of a woman but the heart of a man; that, on this account, she wished for the friendship of your majesty, and entreated him to restore to the King of Navarre and those of his religion the edict of toleration, of which they had been deprived two years ago, if not for ever, at least for some time, during which, at a good council, which she offers to attend, all religious differences, which are not so great as people imagine, may be adjusted: for she is of opinion that two Christian sovereigns, acting in unison, may devise an effectual expedient, and induce all others by their authority to adopt it without caring for priests or ministers, giving me to understand that she considered your majesty and herself as the heads of the two religions which are now in Christendom. She then repeated her desire of sending a person of

high rank to your majesty, asking what I thought of it.

Thereto I replied that all those whom she had, in her name sent to France, had always been well received; but, as at present all France was under arms, I could not answer her, but that M. de Staffort was better able to advise her on this point than I; with respect to the other points, that to assist the King of Navarre, and to say that it was against the Guises, was intermeddling in your majesty's affairs more than she would like any one to do in hers; she could certainly advise him to submit for a time, in matters of religion, to your majesty's pleasure, till the meeting of the council which she had proposed, at which it might really be possible to adjust the religious differences, not by means of two princes only, but by the general consent of all Christendom, which otherwise might be broken up into parts, each prince, even the most insignificant, establishing a different form of religion in his own dominions, which in the end would produce extreme confusion and the utter ruin of the Christian religion. Therefore I begged her to reflect upon these four difficulties, which alone could prevent that close bond of amity with your majesty which she desired.

She replied that, as to the assistance given to the King of Navarre, she had said sufficient to

satisfy me; with respect to the German troops, she should not in any way interfere; as for the depredations, she would for the future so arrange matters, that I should part from her better satisfied than any ambassador who had ever left this kingdom; and she commanded me again to assure you of her friendship, which she would express to you shortly by letters and an envoy sent for the purpose; and then she put me into the hands of MM. Lecestre and Walsingham to conduct me to the council-chamber, where we treated upon what your majesty will find in a separate memorandum.

Now, sire, from the length of this despatch, which I most humbly beseech you to excuse, your majesty will perceive, in the first place, that, in regard to Destrappes, the queen now desires that the affair may be quashed; nevertheless, I most humbly entreat you to be pleased to cause the said Destrappes to be examined; and, after he has been heard by the members of your council as you may think fit, that you will be pleased to insist that Stafort be punished for his false accusations, though I have not much hope of this, he being in great favour with the queen and the principal persons of this court.

And, sire, the said Destrappes having fallen into this trouble through misfortune, I take the liberty of most humbly entreating your majesty,

since this accusation has spread over all Christendom, to be pleased to declare him innocent, and to bestow on him the first appointment of councillor of your court at a moderate price, he being truly worthy of that situation; and it will also be of infinite service in exculpating me, to know that, on his return, your majesty has bestowed favours upon him.

For the rest, sire, the Queen of England is greatly disappointed, having had unfavourable news respecting the King of Denmark, who appears desirous of having the King of Scotland for his son-in-law; and also because the Duke of Parma interferes in this affair by the order of his master: so that the said lady is particularly desirous of your friendship, wishing at least to make it appear to the King of Scotland that she is upon the best terms with you. For these few days past she has been doing all in her power to cause a report to be circulated in England and Scotland, that she had settled matters with the Catholic king, but, according to letters from Antwerp, this has all gone off in smoke, and it is believed that the Duke of Parma has refused all negotiation. As this has failed, they are spreading a similar report respecting you, for I was received at court with the greatest ceremony in the world, and, on leaving, the Earl of Lecestre went and waited for me in the

presence-chamber, where he remarked to me in a loud tone that the whole court rejoiced that I had been so well received by the queen; that he in particular, and all the nobles, had, for the last four months, felt extremely vexed at what had occurred, being well aware that it was without cause or occasion, with many expressions in my praise, which I should be ashamed to write to you; and he begged me to assure your majesty that he was your servant, and should be as long as he lived. After him, all the other noblemen and gentlemen came, bowing and complimenting me as if I were a new-comer, a circumstance no doubt contrived on purpose, and at the express command of their mistress.

Your majesty will be pleased to inform me of your intentions in regard to the subjects of this despatch, and on the enclosed memorandum, which I have agreed to submit to the approbation of your majesty, for fear that they would stop the corn which is on its way to France, having heard that there are nearly two hundred vessels laden, some of which I think they will not fail to seize; but I will get over as many as I can, which I think I can do as far as regards the English; but, as for the people of Zealand, I am much afraid that they will take some of them. I wish that there was some one at Flushing to set this matter right; indeed, I could send one

of my people with letters from the said lady, the Earl of Lecestre, and this Council, to prevent them from being seized.

The King of Navarre has sent hither the S^r. du Bartas to the aforesaid lady, of whom he had an audience on the 10th of this month; but, apparently, she gave him a very unfavourable reception, that I might hear of it, and that this, coupled with her extremely gracious behaviour to me the day before, might make me believe all she told me to be true. The said Du Bartas has assured her that the King of Navarre is in the field with good troops, and that he is going to join M. de Montmorency, that they may march together to meet the German troops, boasting much to her about the forces of the said king. The principal reason of the coming of the said Du Bartas is, that he has been sent to Scotland to the king, who has several times before asked the King of Navarre for him; the said King of Scotland being so fond of the works of the said Du Bartas, that he has turned the greatest part of them into Scottish verse, and has frequently said that if he had but the said Du Bartas about him, he should consider himself the happiest sovereign in the world. I have no doubt myself that this is some artifice of these people, who wish to have just now about the said king a man who is a stanch Huguenot, and devoted to their interest.

I praying God, sire, to give your majesty perfect health, and a very long and very happy life.

Your very humble
and very obedient subject and servant,
DE L'AUBESPINE CHASTEAUNEUF.

1587. *July* 29. (*August* 8, N. S.) The body of Mary Stuart is removed with great ceremony to Peterborough Cathedral.

July 31. (*August* 10, N. S.) It is interred on the right of the choir of the church, opposite to the tomb of Queen Catherine, first consort of Henry VIII.

August 3. The servants of the Queen of Scotland are sent to London. They are kept under guard there for fifteen days longer, during which time Nau goes before them to France.

Funeral and Interment of Mary, Queen of Scots.[w]

On Sunday, the 30th of July, reckoning according to the new reformation of the calendar, the 8th of August, 1587, about eight o'clock in the evening, there came to Fotheringhay Castle a carriage drawn by four horses, attired in mourning and covered with black velvet, with the arms of Scotland, the carriage or coach covered in like manner all round with small banneroles, exhibiting partly the arms of Scotland, partly those of the house of Anjou, from which the deceased husband of her majesty was descended. The king of the heralds having arrived with about twenty men on

[w] There cannot be a doubt that this paper, written in French, proceeds from one who had belonged to the household of the Queen of Scots.

horseback, both gentlemen and others, and some servitors and lacqueys, all dressed in mourning, went up to the chamber where the corpse was, directed it to be carried down and put into the said carriage, which was done with all possible reverence, all bare-headed and in silence; while this was doing, the servants, to whom no notice had been given, astonished at these preparations, were consulting among themselves whether they ought to offer to follow the body to see what was going to be done with it, deeming that it was not their duty to let it be carried away without being accompanied by some of them, the said king of the heralds went and explained to them the commission which he had received from his mistress, touching the interment of the body and the funeral which she had promised, for which he had been commanded to make arrangements, and to pay all the honours to the deceased that he could. Whereupon, wishing to comply with these directions, and having already prepared many things necessary for this purpose, it was thought more expedient to remove the corpse that night than to wait till the day fixed for its interment, which was the following Tuesday, the 1st of August, as well on account of the distance, which was about three French leagues from thence, and because the leaden coffin would be too heavy to be carried in state, and it could not take place on the 1st day of August

appointed, without collecting a great concourse of people, and producing confusion, or default of some kind; and as the vault was already made, they purposed to deposit the body in it this night, and on the Tuesday to perform the funeral obsequies with due ceremony, for the greater convenience; and that it was advisable for some of them, such as they should think proper, to accompany the corpse, and to see what should be done with it, and that the rest of the servants should go thither next day to attend the funeral on the day appointed.

All being thus prepared, the corpse was carried out about ten o'clock at night, accompanied by the said herald and other English, with seven servants of her majesty, namely, Monsieur Melvin, Monsieur Burgoin, Pierre Corion, Annibal Stonard, Jean Lander, and Nicolas de la Mare, preceded by men on foot bearing lighted torches, to give light on the road, and arrived about two in the morning at Peterbourg, which is a small town, not walled any more than the other towns of England, on the river ....., where has been built a very handsome church, the work of an ancient king of England named Peda. Here, in the times of the Catholic religion, there was an abbey of monks of St. Benedict, now erected into a bishopric—for all the abbeys have been suppressed—where canons

officiate, according to their institution, in the same sort of dress and vestments as ours.

In this church was interred that good Queen Catherine, wife of the late King Henry VIII., on the left side within the choir, where there is still her monument, adorned with a canopy, with her armorial bearings. On the right side, exactly opposite, was made a grave, bricked all round, and of sufficient depth, wherein was deposited the corpse of her majesty in the two coffins. In the middle of the choir was erected a dome, resembling the *chapelles ardentes* in France, excepting that it was covered with black velvet, garnished all over with the arms of Scotland, with bipartite banneroles, as it has been said. Within it was placed the *representation*, which was in the form of a bier covered with black velvet, and upon it a pillow of crimson velvet, on which was laid a crown. The church was hung with black cloth, from the door to the interior of the choir, sprinkled with the said armorial bearings.

On the arrival of the body, the bishop of the said town of Peterbourg, in his episcopal habit, but without mitre, crosier, or cope, with the dean and some others in their canonicals, came to receive the body at the entrance of the church, and preceded it to the said grave, in which it was put in the presence of all, without chanting or tolling,

or saying a word; and then they deliberated about saying some customary prayers, but agreed to defer them till the day of the funeral. The workmen immediately set about making an arch of brick over the grave, which covered the whole, level with the ground, leaving only an aperture of about a foot and a half, through which might be seen what was within, and also for admitting the broken staves of the officers and the flags, which it is customary to put down at the funerals of sovereigns.

On Monday the preparations were completed; the rooms in which the banquet was to be held were hung, and the herald requested the servants who had come thither to look at and consider the whole, explaining how he intended to proceed; that if they saw any thing wanting, any thing that needed amending or correcting, whatever it might be, that they thought not proper, and it should be made to their satisfaction; that such was the pleasure of his mistress, that nothing was to be spared; and that if he had failed to obey these directions it would be his fault, wishing the whole to be done in the most honourable manner possible. Whereto answer was very coldly made, that it was not for them to find fault; that his mistress and he were discreet enough to do what was right, as they had agreed, and that the whole was dependent on their pleasure.

The Queen of England had some days before sent cloth to make mourning for the servants of her majesty, as much as was necessary for the men to make a cloak a-piece for Monsieur Melvin, Monsieur Bourgoin, and a gown for each of the women, but some of them declined it, making shift with their own dresses which they had got made for mourning, immediately after the death of the deceased; and as the head-dresses of the ladies and women were not according to the fashion of the country for mourning, a woman was sent on purpose to make others in their fashion, to be worn by them on the day of the funeral, and to be theirs afterwards; so anxious was that sweet Elizabeth to have it believed that she was sorry for the death of her majesty, that she furnished all the mourning dresses worn by those who walked in the procession, more than three hundred and fifty in number, paying the whole expense. The servants paid nothing for their subsistence till the third day of August, when they left Fotheringhay Castle to return all together with their baggage; on which day they began to be at their own cost, as well for their victuals as for their carriage, and afterwards they were not permitted to leave England, where they had to stay for nearly a month, at a very heavy expense.

A Remembrance of the Order and Manner of the Burial of Mary, Queen of Scotts.[x]

On Sunday, being the 30th of July, 1587, in the 29th year of the reign of Elizabeth, the queen's majestie of England, there went from Peterborough, M—— Dethick, *alias* Garter principal king at armes, and five heralds, accompanied with forty horse and men, to conduct the body of Mary, late Queen of Scotts, from Fotheringham Castle in Northamptonshire to Peterborough aforesaid, which queen had remained prisoner in England ..... years; having for that purpose brought a royal coach, drawn by four horses, and covered with black velvet, richly set forth with escotcheons of the armes of Scotland, and little penons round about it; the body being inclosed in lead, and the same coffined in wood, was brought down and reverently put into the coach, at which time the heralds put on their coats of armes, and bare-headed, with torches light, brought the same forth of the castle, about ten of the clock at night, and so conveyed it to Peterborough, ... miles distant from Fotheringham Castle, whither being come (about two of the clock on Monday morning), the body was received most reverently at the minster door of Peterborough, by the bishop, dean,

[x] From Archæologia, vol. i., p. 355.

and chapter, and Clarenceux king of armes; and, in the presence of the Scots which came with the same, it was laid in a vault prepared for the same, in the quire of the said church, on the south side, opposite to the tomb of Queen Katherine, dowager of Spain, the first wife of King Henry the Eighth; the occasion why the body was forthwith laid into the vault, and not borne in the solemnity, was, because it was so extreme heavy by reason of the lead, that the gentlemen could not endure to have carried it with leisure in the solemn proceding; and, besides, it was feared, that the sowder might ripp, and, being very hot weather, might be found some annoyance.

On Tuesday, being the first of August, in the morning, about eight of the clock, the chief mourner, being the Countess of Bedford, was attended upon by all the lords and ladies, and brought into the presence-chamber within the bishop's palace, which all over was hanged with black cloth; she was, by the queen's majesties gentlemen ushers, placed somewhat under a cloth of estate of purple velvet, where, having given to the great officers their staves of office, viz., to the lord steward, lord chamberlayne, the treasurer, and comptroller, she took her way into the great hall, where the corps stood; and the heralds having

marshalled the several companies, they made their proceeding as followeth:

Two conductors in black, with black staves.

Poor women mourners, to the number of 100, two and two.

Two yoeman harvengers.

The standard of Scotland borne by Sir George Savill, knight.

Gentlemen in cloaks to the number of fifty, being attendants on the lords and ladies.

Six grooms of the chamber, viz., Mr. ..... Eaton, Mr. .... Bykye, Mr. .... Ceavaval, Mr. .... Flynt, Mr. .... Charlton, Mr. .... Lylle.

Three gentlemen servers to the queen's majesty, Mr. Horseman, Mr. Fynes, and Mr. Martin.

Gentlemen in gownes, Mr. Warme, Mr. Holland, Mr. Crewste, Mr Watson, Mr. Allington, Mr. Darrel, and Mr. Fescue.

Scots in cloaks, 17 in number.

A Scottish priest.

Mr. Fortescue, master of the wardrobe to the queen's majestie.

The Bishop of Peterborough.

The Bishop of Lincoln.

The great banner, borne by Sir Andrew Nowel, knight.

The comptroller, Mr. Melvin.

The treasurer, Sir Edward Montague.

The lord chamberlayne was Lord Dudley.

The lord steward was Lord St. John of Basing.

Two ushers.

Atchievements of honour borne by heralds.

- The healme and creste borne by Portcullis.
- Target, borne by York.
- Sword, borne by the Rouge Dragon.
- Coat borne by Somerset.

Clarencieux king of arms, with a gentleman usher, Mr. Coningsbye.

The corpse borne by esquires in cloaks:

Mr. Francis Fortescue.
Mr. William Fortescue.
Mr. Thomas Stafford.
Mr. Nicholas Smith.
Mr. Nicholas Hyde.
Mr. ..... Howlands,
[the bishop's brother.

Eight bannerolles, borne by esquiers:

1. King Robert impaling Drummond. By Mr. William Fitz Williams.

2. King James the 1st. impaling Beaufort. Mr. Griffin, of Dingley.

3. Guelders. { By Mr. Robert Wingfield.

4. King James the 3rd., impaling Denmark, } Mr. Bevill.

5. King James 4th impaling the arms of Henry 7th, of England. } Mr. Lynne.
6. King James 5th impaling Guys } Mr. John Wingfield.
7. King of France impaling the arms of Mary of Scotland. } Mr, Spencer.
8. Lord Darnley impaling the arms of Mary, Queen of Scotland. } Mr. John Fortescue of Haywood.

The canopy, being of black velvet fringed with gold, borne by four knights, viz.

Sir Thomas Manners.
Sir George Hastings.
Sir James Harrington.
Sir Richard Knightley.

Assistants to the body. Four barons which bore up the corners of the pall of velvet.

The Lord Mordant.
The Lord Willoughby of Parham.
The Lord Compton.
Sir Thomas Cecill.

Mr. Garter, with the gentleman usher, Mr. Brakenbury.

The Countesse of Bedford, supported by the Earls of Rutland and Lincolne, her train borne up by

the Lady St. John of Basing, and assisted by Mr. John Manners, vice-chamberlayne.

The Countesse of Rutland, Countesse of Lincolne.
The Lady Talbot, Lady Mary Savell.
The Lady Mordant, the Lady St. John of Bletshoe.
The Lady Manners, the Lady Cecill.
The Lady Montague, the Lady Nowel.
Mrs. Alington, Mrs. Curle.

Two ushers.

Eight Scottish gentlewomen.

The gentlewomen of Countess's and Baroness's, according to their degrees, all in black.

Servants in black coates.

The Countess of Bedford,	10.
Countess of Rutland,	8.
Countess of Lincoln,	8.
Lady St. John of Basing,	5.
All lords and ladyes,	5.
All knights and their wives,	4.
All esquires,	1.

The body being thus brought into the quire, was set down within the royal herse, which was twenty feet square, and twenty-seven feet in height, covered over with black velvet, and richly set with escotcheons of arms and fringe of gold; upon the body, which was covered with a pall of black velvet, lay a purple velvet cushion, fringed

and tasseled with gold, and upon the same a close crown of gold set with stones; after the body was thus placed, and every mourner according to their degree, the sermon was begun by the Bishop of Lincoln, after which certain anthems were sung by the quire, and the offering began very solemnly, as followeth:

The Offering.

First, the chief mourner offered for the queen, attended upon by all ladies. The coat, sword, target, and helme, was severally carried up by the two Earls of Rutland and Lincoln, one after another, and received by the Bishop of Peterborough, and Mr. Garter king at arms.

The standard alone.

The great banner alone.

The lady chief mourner alone.

The trayne-bearer alone.

The two earles together.

The lord steward,
The lord chamberlayne.

The Bishop of Lincolne alone.

The four lords assistants to the body.

The treasurer, comptroller, and vice-chamberlayne.

The four knights that bore the canopy.

In which offeringe every course was led up by a herald, for the more order; after which, the two

bishops and the Dean of Peterborough came to the vault, and over the body began to read the funeral service; which being said, every officer broke his staff over his head, and threw the same into the vault to the body; and so every one departed, as they came, after their degrees, to the bishop's palace, where was prepared a most royal feast, and a dole given unto the poore.

The following extract from Blackwood's History of Mary, Queen of Scots, furnishes particulars not given in the two preceding accounts of her funeral.

The corpes was carryed into a chamber next adjoining, fearinge the saide maides should come to do anie charitable goode office. It did increase greatlie ther desire so to do after they did see their mistress corps thorowe a littel hole of the chamber wall, which (was) cowered with cloath, but the wofull corpes was keepte a longe time in this chambre till it beganne to corrupte and smell stronglie, so that in the end they were constrained to salte it, and to embalme lightlie to saieve charges, and after to wrap it up in a cacke of leade, keeping it seeven monthes ther before it was put into prophane earth in the church of Peterborrowe. It is very true that this church is dedicated under the name of monsieur

saint Peter, and Queen Catherine of Spayne was interred therein after the Catholique fashion, but it is now prophaned like all the churches of Englande.

M. de Chateauneuf to King Henry III.

Sire, by order of the Queen of England, the funeral obsequies of the late Queen of Scotland were performed on the 11th of this month at Peterbourg, the episcopal town in the province in which the said lady died, and she was interred in the cathedral church, on the right side of the choir, and opposite to Queen Catherine, first wife of King Henry VIII. The obsequies were very solemn, and were attended by all the servants of the deceased;[y] and they are now returning, and among them her physician, who, having attended her from the first day of her strict imprisonment to the hour of her death, is directed and commanded by her to kiss the hands of your majesty, the queen, and the queen your mother, and to present them with some remembrance from her.

The Queen of England is always hereabout, at the houses of noblemen, not having yet gone to Windsor, where her council is to assemble. No-

[y] With the exception of Nau and Curle, her secretaries, who durst not appear.

thing further has occurred here, but what your majesty will see in a memorial which accompanies these presents, the bearer of which is young Pasquier, who was in the service of the said deceased. Her secretaries, Nau and Curlle, have been set at perfect liberty, and every thing which belonged to them before has been restored, after signing, in full council, a declaration that all the depositions which they had made aforetime were true, and that they had deposed without force, constraint, or bribery.

Sire, I beseech the Creator to give your majesty perfect health and prosperity, and a very long and very happy life.

London, this 26th day of August, 1587.

Your most humble and most obedient
Servant and subject,
DE L'AUBESPINE CHASTEAUNEUF.

It is stated in Egerton, page 131, that the original of this letter is to be found in the King's Library, Desmême's Collection, No. 9513, intituled, "Original Letters of State, Vol. iii., fol. 443." The librarians, however, have no knowledge of it, and I have in vain examined the French manuscripts of the above-mentioned collection; none of them bears that title, or contains the preceding letter.—(Note by Prince Labanoff.)

1587. *December* 4. (*December* 14, N. S.) Decree of the parliament at Paris, issued on the application of the Duke of Guise and the Archbishop of Glasgow, relative to the execution of the will of the late Queen of Scotland.

Decree of the Parliament of Paris, 14th December, 1587.—N. S.

Having seen the petition presented by Henry de Lorraine, peer and grand master of France; Duke of Guise; James, Archbishop of Glasgo, ambassador of the late Queen of Scotland in France; John, Bishop of Ross, in the kingdom of Scotland; and Jehan de Champhuron, keeper of the seals to the said lady:

By which it appears that, after the sentence of her death was made known to her, she had written and signed a will with her own hand, containing several legacies and directions, as well relative to the discharge of her debts and the rewarding of her servants, as to the founding of certain endowments, and for the execution of the same had chosen and appointed the aforesaid petitioners, who felt themselves highly honoured by such choice and appointment made by so great and virtuous a queen:

The which are desirous of promoting the said execution, and with great cheerfulness and good-will to render the said lady this last service, having not

less affection for her than during her lifetime, but doubt that there are sufficient funds to satisfy the creditors, and fulfil the intentions of the said lady, who left no other property in France but a house of small value, situate at Fontainebleau; several sums which she alleges to be due to her from the king, but which, at present, it will be difficult to recover; and some other claims contested by certain gentlemen, and which have been in litigation for the last twenty years:

The surplus, consisting in what may be in the hands of her treasurer, and rents due from her tenants, which they refuse to pay until some abatement be made, but which abatement the council of the said lady made a difficulty of directing, as it used to do, on account of her decease, without being authorised by the court; and, moreover, great disputes having arisen between the creditors and legatees, as likewise with those who were in possession of the goods of the defunct, so that there was nothing but was disputed and involved in very long and intricate discussion, into which the petitioners could not enter on account of the high and important affairs which they have in hand: and, further, that the said Archbishop of Glasgo and Ross, being liable to be sent for and recalled by the King of Scotland, have requested their places to be

supplied; seeing the will of the said deceased queen, the conclusions and consent of the procureur-general of the king, and all things considered,

The said court, having regard to the said petition, and the consent of the said procureur-general,

Has ordered, and orders, that, by the advice of the relatives, friends, and counsel of the said deceased Queen of Scotland, and her legatees and creditors, there be elected one or two persons, who shall take upon themselves the execution of the will of the said lady, and the charge and management of her effects, in the capacity of honorary trustee executor of the said will, and shall take all the necessary steps as well for commencing actions, as for defending any which may be brought against them in their said capacity by the creditors and legatees; and they shall also receive and pay all moneys, and engage to account for the proceedings of the execution, which they shall be expected to undertake by the advice of the petitioners, who shall continue to be honorary executors, but without being in any way bound for the said execution, or liable to be applied to by any one, or otherwise at all responsible; and, in order to proceed to the said election and execution of this present decree, it has appointed and appoints Jacques Brisard and Jean Chevallier counsellors in this matter.

1603. *April* 3. Death of Elizabeth, Queen of England. James VI., King of Scotland, succeeds her, and unites the two crowns.

1612. *October* 11. James I. of England and VI. of Scotland removes the body of his mother, Mary Stuart, from Peterborough to Westminster.

It was probably about this time that James caused the castle of Fotheringay to be demolished.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

1561.

The queen, soon after her arrival from France, began to think of making a progress through some of the principal towns of her kingdom. Her horses and mules having been detained in England, she was obliged to purchase ten horses at Stirling for the use of her household, preparatory to her progress. As the queen had no wheel-carriage, she set out on her journey on horseback on the 11th of September, 1561.

In a note on the above passage, Chalmers says: On the 6th of September, 1561, the treasurer charged £211, given to John Livingston, her master stabler, to buy ten horses for her grace's household, and £1 13*s.* 4*d.* for incidental expences. Ten *haikneys* were brought to Holyrood House, perhaps as presents, for the persons who brought them were paid "drink silver" or "bridle silver" of two crowns of the sun for each, or £26 13*s.* 4*d.* The queen and her ladies probably rode on hackneys, as

there is a charge in the same accounts of "ane mollat bit to the queen's haikney." Before her progress there are also charges for saddles and bridles to twelve of the queen's ladies, and for black riding cloaks to fifteen of the queen's ladies.

During this journey, on the 24th of September, Randolph, the ambassador to Queen Elizabeth, at the court of Mary, wrote to Cecil that "at Stirling, the queen, lying in her bed, having a candle burning by her, being asleep, the curtains and tester took fire, and so was like to have smothered her as she lay." The ambassador sarcastically adds: "Such as speak much of prophecies say that this is now fulfilled that of old hath been spoken, 'that a queen should be burnt at Stirling.'"

Randolph related another circumstance which occurred during this visit to Stirling, on Sunday, the 14th of September, in the chapel royal: "Her grace's devout chaplains would, by the good device of Arthur Erskine, have sung a high mass: the Earl of Argyle [Justice General] and the Lord James [prime minister and afterwards Earl of Murray] so disturbed the quire that some, both priests and clerks, left their places with broken heads and bloody ears. It was a sport alone for some that were there to behold it; others there were," and probably among them the queen, "that shed a tear or two, and then made no more of the matter."

1561.

The "Tragical History of the Stuarts," attached to "The Secret History of Whitehall, from the Restoration of King Charles II. to the year 1696," by D. Jones, gent., printed in 1696 and 1697, in two duodecimo volumes, contains a long, apparently faithful, and extremely interesting report of the interview which took place between the English queen and Secretary Maitland, commonly called the Lord of Lethington, whom Mary had sent as her envoy to the court of London.

"Soon after her arrival" [from France], says the author, "she despatched William Maitland embassador to Queen Elizabeth, to confirm the peace lately made; but the chief of his errand appeared to be to press Elizabeth to declare her to be the next heir to the crown of England; which motion, because Queen Elizabeth did not a little stomach, and I do very believe had some influence upon Queen Mary's future calamity, we shall a little more particularly insist upon, together with the queen's reply to the ambassador upon it.

"He began first to acquaint her how highly the queen his mistress was affected towards her, and how much she desired to maintain peace and amity with her; he also carried to her letters from the nobility, in which was mentioned a friendly com-

memoration of former obligations and courtesies. But one thing they earnestly desired of her, that both publicly and privately she would show herself friendly and courteous towards their queen; and, being incited by good offices, she would not only preserve them in her ancient friendship, but superadd daily stronger obligations, if possible, hereunto. As for their part, it should be their earnest desire and study to pretermit no occasion of perpetuating the peace betwixt the two neighbour nations, and that there was but one sure way to induce an amnesty of all past differences, and to stifle the spring of them for ever, by the Queen of England's declaring, by an act of parliament confirmed by the royal assent, that their queen was heiress to the kingdom of England next after herself and her children, if ever she had any. And when the ambassador had urged the equity and reasonableness of such a law, and how beneficial it would be to all Britain, by many arguments, he added, in the close, that she, being her nearest kinswoman, ought to be more intent and diligent than others in having such an act made, and that the queen his mistress did expect that testimony of good-will and respect from her.

"To which the Queen of England made answer to this purpose: 'I wonder she hath forgot how that, before her departure out of France, that, after

much urging, she promised that the league made at Leith should be confirmed, she having faithfully engaged it should be so, as soon as e'er she returned to her own country. I have,' continued she, 'been put off with words long enough, now it is time,' if she had any regard to her honour, that her actions should answer her words.' To which the ambassador replied, that he was sent on that embassy but a very few days after the queen's arrival, before she had entered upon the administration of any public affairs; that she had been hitherto taken up in treating of the nobility, many of whom she had never seen before, who came from divers parts, to perform their dutiful salutations to her; but that she was chiefly employed about settling the state of religion, which, how troublesome and difficult a thing it is, said he, yourself well know. Hence he proceeded to show that his mistress had had no vacant time at all before his departure, neither had she yet called fit men for her council to consult about various affairs; especially since the nobility, who lived in the remotest parts of the north, had not been yet able to attend her before his coming away, with whose advice matters of such public moment could and ought to be transacted.

"Which words somewhat incensed Queen Elizabeth, and she said, what need hath the queen to make

any consultation about that which she hath obliged herself to under hand and seal. He replied, I can give no other answer at present, for I received no command about it, neither did our queen expect that an account thereof would now be required of me, and you may easily consider with yourself what just causes of delay she at present lies under; and, after some other words, the queen returned to the main point; and said, 'I observe what you most insist upon in behalf of the queen; and, in seconding the requests of the nobles, you put me in mind that your queen is descended from the blood of the kings of England, and that I am bound to love her by a natural obligation as being my near kinswoman, which I neither can nor will deny. I have also made it evident to the whole world that in all my actions I never attempted any thing against the good and tranquillity of herself and her kingdom. Those who are acquainted with my inward thoughts and inclinations are conscious that, though I had just cause of offence given, by her using my arms and claiming a title to my kingdom, yet I could hardly be persuaded but that these seeds of hatred came from others, and not from herself. However the case stands, I hope she does not pretend to take away my crown whilst I am alive, nor hinder my children, if I have any, to succeed me in the kingdom. But if any calamity should happen to me

before, as she shall never find that I have done any thing to prejudice the right she pretends to have to the kingdom of England, so I never thought myself obliged to make a disquisition into what that right is, and I am of the same mind still, and so shall leave it to those who are skilful in the law to determine. As for your queen, she may expect this confidently of me, that, if her cause be just, I shall not prejudice it in the least. I call God to witness that, next to myself, I know none that I would prefer before her, or, if the matter come to a dispute, that can exclude her. Thou knowest,' said she, 'who are the competitors; by what assistance, or in hopes of what force can such poor creatures attempt such a mighty thing?'

"After some further discourse, the conclusion was short: 'That it was a business of great weight and moment, and that this was the first time she had entertained serious thoughts about it, and therefore she had need of longer time to dispatch it.' Some days after she sent for the ambassador again, and told him that she extremely wondered why the nobility should demand such a thing of her upon the first arrival of the queen, especially knowing that the causes of former offences were not yet taken away. But continued she, 'What, pray, do they require? that I, having been so much wronged, should, before any satisfaction received, gratify her

in so large a manner; this demand is not far from a threat. If they proceed on in this way, let them know that I have force at home, and friends abroad, as well as they, who will defend my just right.' To which he answered, that he had shown clearly at first how that the nobility had insisted on this hopeful medium of concord, partly out of duty to their own queen, in a prospect to maintain her weal and increase her dignity, and partly out of a desire to contribute and settle public peace and amity, and that they dealt more plainly with her than with any other prince. In this cause proceeds, said he, your known and experimented good will towards them, and also upon the account of their own safety; for they knew they must venture life and fortune, if any body did oppose the right of the queen, or if any war did arise betwixt the nations on that account; and therefore their desires did not seem unwarrantable or unjust, as tending to the eradicating the seeds of all discords and the settling of a firm and solid peace.

"She rejoined, 'If I had acted any thing that might diminish your queen's right, then your demand might have been just, that what was amiss might be amended; but this postulation is without an example, that I should wrap myself up in my winding sheet while I am alive, neither was the like asked before by any prince; however, I take not

the good intention of your nobility amiss, and the rather because it is an evidence to me that they have a desire to promote the interest and honour of their queen; and I do put as great a value upon their prudence in providing for their own security, and of being tender of shedding Christian blood, which could not be avoided if any faction should arise to challenge the kingdom; but what such party can there be, or where should they have force? But, to let these considerations pass, suppose I were inclinable to assent to their demands, do you think I would do it rather at the request of the nobles than of the queen herself? But there are many other things that avert me from such a transaction. First, I am not ignorant how dangerous a thing it is to venture upon the dispute; the disceptation concerning the right of the kingdomI always mightily avoided, for the controversy has been already so much canvassed in the mouths of many concerning a just and lawful marriage, and what children were bastards and what legitimate, according as every one is addicted to this or that party, that, by reason of these disputes, I have been hitherto more backward in marrying. Once, when I took the crown publicly upon me, I married myself to the kingdom, and I wear the ring I then put on my finger as a badge thereof; however my resolution stands, I will be Queen of England as

long as I live, and when I am dead let that person succeed in my place which hath most right to it; and if that chance to be your queen, I will put no obstacle to it. But, if another hath a better title, it were an unjust request to me to make a public edict to his prejudice; if there be any law against your queen, 'tis unknown to me, and I have no great delight to sift into it; but if there should be any such law, I was sworn at my coronation that I would not change my subjects' laws.

" 'As for the second allegation, that the declaration of my successor will knit a stricter bond of amity betwixt us, I am afraid rather it will be a seminary of hatred and discontent. What! do you think I am willing to have some of my grave-clothes always before my eyes? Kings have this peculiarity, that they have some kind of sentiments against their own children, who are born lawful heirs to succeed them. Thus Charles VII. of France somewhat disgusted Lewis XI., and Lewis XII. Charles VIII., and, of late, Francis ill resented Henry, and how it is likely I should stand affected towards my kinswoman, if she be once declared my heir, just as Charles VII. was towards Lewis XI.; besides, and that which weighs most with me, I know the inconstancy of this people; I know how they loathe the present state of things; I know how intent their eyes are upon a successor. 'Tis natural for

all men, as the proverb is, to worship rather the rising than setting sun. I have learned that from my own times; to omit other examples, when my sister Mary was sat at the helm, how eager did some men desire to see me placed on the throne, how solicitous were they in advancing me thereto. I am not ignorant what danger they would have undergone to bring their design to an issue, if my will had concurred with their designs; now, perhaps, the same men are otherwise minded, just like children when they dream of apples in their sleep, they are very joyful, but, waking in the morning and finding themselves frustrate of their hopes, their mirth is turned into mourning. Thus I am dealt with by those who, whilst I was yet a private woman, wished me so well. If I looked upon any of them a little more pleasant than ordinary, they thought presently with themselves that as soon as ever I came to the throne, they should be rewarded rather at the rate of their own desires, than of the service they performed for me. But now, seeing the event hath not answered expectation, some of them do gape after a new change of things in hopes of a better fortune, for the wealth of a prince, though never so great, cannot satisfy the unsatiable desires of all men. But if the good will of my subjects do flag towards me, or if their minds are changed, because I am not profuse enough in my

largesses, or for some other cause, what will be the event when the malevolent shall have a successor named, to whom they may make their grievances known, and in their anger and pet betake themselves? What danger shall I then be in, when so powerful a neighbour prince is my successor? the more strength I add to her in ascertaining her succession, the more I detract from my own security. This danger cannot be avoided by any precautions or by any bands of law; yet, those princes who have hope of a kingdom offered them will hardly contain themselves within the bounds either of law or equity; for my part, if any successor were publicly declared to the world, I should think my affairs to be far from settled and secured.'

"A few days after, the ambassador asked the queen whether she would return any answer to the letter of the Scottish nobility? 'I have nothing,' said she, 'at present, to answer, only I commend their diligence and love to their prince, but the matter is of such great weight, that I cannot so soon give a plain and express answer thereunto; but when the queen shall have done her duty, in confirming the league she obliged herself to ratify, then 'twill be seasonable to try my affection towards her; in the mean time, I cannot gratify her in her request without diminution to my own dignity.' The ambassador replied he had no command about that affair,

nor ever had any discourse with his mistress concerning the same; neither did he then propound the queen's judgment concerning the right of succession, but his own, and had brought reasons to enforce it; but, as for the confirmation of the league by her husband, 'twas enforced from the Queen of Scots without the consent of those to whom the ratifying or disannulling thereof did much concern; neither was the thing of such consequence as therefore to exclude her and her posterity from the inheritance of England. 'I do not inquire,' said he, 'by whom, how, when, by what authority, and for what reason that league was made, seeing I had no command to speak about any such matter; but this I dare affirm, that though it were confirmed by her in compliance with her husband's desire, yet, so great a stress depending on it, his queen in time would find out some reason or other why it should and ought to be dissolved. I speak not this,' said he, 'in the name of the queen, but my intent is to show that our nobility have cause for what they do, that so, all controversies being plucked up by the roots, a firm and sure peace may be established amongst us.' As this aggravated the spirits of Queen Elizabeth, so it was, no doubt, a great mortification to Queen Mary; but truckle she must, and so she confirmed the league, resigning any pretensions to wear the arms of England and Ireland during the other's life."

1562.

In the summer of 1562, Mary, being entirely under the influence of her illegitimate brother, who then bore the title of the Earl of Mar (afterwards Murray), the Earl of Morton, and Maitland, set out on a progress to the northern parts of the kingdom. It was during this progress that the harsh and unjust proceedings against Gordon, Earl of Huntley, impelled him to resort to arms, and brought ruin upon that nobleman, though at this time the most powerful in Scotland. These transactions occupied the whole of the autumn.

During this progress, which more resembled a military expedition, the queen came in September to Inverness. The great object of Murray in bringing her to this place seems to have been to wrest the castle from the keeping of Lord Gordon, son of the Earl of Huntley, to whom it belonged hereditarily, as well as the sherifalty of that shire. On the arrival of the queen and her train, possession was demanded of Lord Gordon's deputy, who returned for answer that he could not surrender it without the command of his principal. Next day the country was raised for the assistance of the queen, and the keeper, whose force amounted to only twelve or thirteen men, gave up the castle: but he was immediately hanged, and his head stuck

up on the building. Randolph, who accompanied the queen in this progress, says: "In all those garbulles I never saw the queen merrier, never dismayed, nor never thought I that stomach to be in her that I find. She repented nothing but, when the lords and other at Inverness came in the morning from the watch, that she was not a man, to lie all night in the fields, or to walk upon the causeway, with a jack and knapsack, a Glasgow buckler, and a broadsword."

Randolph, in a letter to Cecil, dated "at Edenbourge, the laste of November, 1562," writes: "Immediately upon the quene's arrivall here [from her journey to the north], she fell acquainted with a new disease, that is common in this towne, called here the new acqueyntaunce, which passed also through her whole courte, neither sparinge lorde, ladie, nor damoysell, not so much as either Frenche or English. It ys a payne in their heades that have yt, and a sorenes in their stomackes, with a great coughe, that remayneth with some longer with other shorter tyme, as yt findeth apt bodies for the nature of the disease.

"The quene kept her bedde six dayes. Ther was no appearance of danger, nor manie that die of the disease except some old folkes."

From the symptoms mentioned by Randolph, this disorder, regarded as a new one three centuries ago,

appears to be the same that has been so prevalent during the last fifty years, and has acquired the name of influenza.

1563.

When the queen returned from France, there came, in the train of Mons. d'Anville, one Chatelard, a gentleman by birth, a scholar from education, a soldier by profession, and a poet by choice. He went back to France with his patron, after sharing in the amusements of Mary's court, and not without being smitten with her charms. In November, 1562, he revisited Scotland as the bearer of letters from d'Anville and others to the queen, by whom he was favourably received. If we may believe Knox, Mary used such personal freedoms with Chatelard as led him to use similar freedoms in return. At length, on the 12th of February, 1563, he ventured to conceal himself in the queen's bedchamber, when she was about to retire to it for the night, with his sword and dagger at his side. Her female attendants concealed this circumstance till the morning from their mistress, who immediately forbade Chatelard to come into her presence.

On the following day Mary and part of her retinue left Edinburgh for Dunfermline, and next day proceeded to Burnt Island, where she was to

sleep. Hither Chatelard also repaired, in spite of her prohibition; and when she retired to her bedchamber, he entered it immediately after her, for the purpose, as he alleged, of clearing himself from the imputation against his conduct. Astonished at his audacity, "the queen was fain to cry for help." The Earl of Murray was sent for, and Mary ordered him to put his dagger into the intruder. Murray, however, was content with causing him to be apprehended. The chancellor, the justice-clerk, and other councillors, were summoned from Edinburgh, the offender was brought to trial at St. Andrews, and executed on the 22nd of February, "reading over on the scaffold," as Brantome tells us, "Ronsard's hymn on death, as the only preparation for the fatal stroke."

As a safeguard from such intrusions, the queen took for her bedfellow Mary Fleming, a daughter of Lord Fleming's, one of the four Maries who had accompanied her to and from France, and continued to be one of her maids of honour till her marriage with Secretary Maitland.

1565.

A highly interesting letter of Randolph's to Queen Elizabeth describes the manner in which Mary received the proposal of a marriage with the Earl of

Leicester. It is dated from Edinburgh, the 5th of February, 1564-5.

"May it please your majesty, immediately after the receipt of your letter to this queen, I repaired to St. Andrews. So soon as time served I did present the same, which being read and, as appeared on her countenance, very well liked, she said little to me for that time. The next day she passed wholly in mirth, nor gave any appearance to any of the contrary, nor would not, as she said openly, but be quiet and merry. Her grace lodged in a merchant's house, her train was very few; and there was small repair from any part. Her will was, that for the time that I did tarry I should dine and sup with her. Your majesty was oftentimes dranken unto by her at dinners and suppers. Having in this sort continued with her grace Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, I thought it time to take occasion to utter that which I received in command from your majesty by Mr. Secretary's letter, which was to know her grace's resolution touching those matters propounded at Berwick by my Lord of Bedford and me to my Lord of Murray and Lord of Liddington. I had no sooner spoken these words but she saith, 'I see now well that you are weary of this company and treatment: I sent for you to be merry, and to see how like a bourgeois wife I live, with my little troop, and you will interrupt our pastime with your great and grave

matters; I pray you, sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great embassade until the queen come thither; for, I assure you, you shall not get her here, nor I know not myself where she is become; you see neither cloth of estate, nor such appearance that you may think there is a queen here; nor I would not that you should think that I am she at St. Andrews that I was at Edinburgh.'

"I said that I was very sorry for that, for that at Edinburgh she said that she did love my mistress, the queen's majesty, better than any other, and now I marvelled how her mind was altered. It pleased her at this to be very merry, and called me by more names than were given me in my christendom. At these merry conceits much good sport were made. 'But well, sir,' saith she, 'that which I then spoke in words shall be confirmed to my good sister, your mistress, in writing; before you go out of this town you shall have a letter unto her, and for yourself, go where you will, I care no more for you.' The next day I was willed to be at my ordinary table, being placed the next person (saving worthy Beton[z]) to the queen's self.

"Very merrily she passeth her time: after dinner she rideth abroad. It pleased her most part of

[z] Mary Beaton, niece of the cardinal, who from her infancy had been one of the queen's maids of honour.

the time to talk with me; she had occasion to speak much of France, for the honor she received there, to be wife unto a great king, and for friendship shewn unto her in particular by many, for which occasions she is bound to love the nation, to shew them pleasure, and to do them good. Her acquaintance is not so forgotten there, nor her friendship so little esteemed, but yet it is divers ways sought to be continued. She hath of her people many well-affected that way, for the nourriture that they have had there, and the commodity of service, as those of the guard and men-at-arms; besides privileges great for the merchants more than ever were granted to any nation. 'What privately of long time hath been sought, and yet is for myself to yield unto their desires in my marriage, her majesty cannot be ignorant, and you have heard. To have such friends, and see such offers (without assurance of as good), nobody will give me advice that loveth me. Not to marry, you know it cannot be for me; to deffer it long many incommodities ensue. How privy to my mind your mistress hath been herein, how willing I am to follow her advice, I have shewn many times, and yet I find in her no resolution, no determination. For nothing I cannot be bound unto her; and to place my will against hers, I have of late given assurance to my brother of Murray and Liddington that I am loath, and so do now shew

unto yourself, which I will you to bear in mind, and to let it be known unto my sister, your mistress; and, therefore, this I say, and trust me I mean it, if your mistress will, as she hath said, use me as her natural born sister or daughter, I will take myself either as one or the other as she please, and will shew no less readiness to oblige her and honour her than my mother or eldest sister; but if she will repute me always as her neighbour Queen of Scots, how willing soever I be to live in amity, and to maintain peace, yet must she not look for that at my hands that otherwise I would and she desireth. To forsake friendship offered, and present commodity for uncertainty, no friend will advise me, nor your mistress self approve my wisdom. Let her, therefore, measure my case as her own, and so will I be hers. For these causes, until my sister and I have further proceeded, I must apply my mind to the advice of those that seem to tender most my profit, that show their care over me, and wish me most good.'

"I requested her grace humbly, that forasmuch as I had moved her majesty by your highness's commandment to let her mind be known how well she liked of the suit of my Lord Robert Earl of Leicester, that I might be able somewhat to say or write touching that matter unto your majesty. 'My mind towards him is such as it ought to be of

a very noble man, as I hear say by very many. And such one as the queen, your mistress my good sister, doth so well like to be her husband, if he were not her subject, ought not to mislike me to be mine. Marry, what I shall do lieth in your mistress's will, who shall guide me and rule me.'

"I made myself not well to understand those words, because I would have the better hold of them. She repeated the self-same words again, and I shewed myself fully contented with her speech, and desired that I might hastily return to your majesty whilst they were fresh in memory. 'My mind is not that you shall so hastily depart. At Edinburgh we may commune further; there shall be nothing forgotten or called back that hath been said. I have received,' said she, 'a very loving letter from my good sister, and this night or to-morrow will write another, which you must send away.' I offered all kind of service that lied in my power, reserving the duty to your majesty.

"I made a general rehearsal after of this whole conference to my Lord of Murray and Lord of Leddington; they were very glad that I had heard so much spoken of herself, whereby they might be encouraged to proceed further; but, without that principal point whereupon your majesty is to resolve, saith they, neither dare earnestly press her, nor yet of themselves are willing, for that in honour other-

wise they see not how she can accord to your majesty's advice, nor so to bend herself unto you as they are sure she will, and therein offer their service to your majesty to the uttermost of their powers."

1565.

Of the queen's marriage with Darnley, and of the character of the latter, the English ambassador gives the following account in a letter to the Earl of Leicester, written on the last day of July, 1565.

"Thei wer married with all the solemnities of the popyshe tyme, saving that he heard not the masse; his speeche and talke argueth his mynde, and yet wolde he fayne seem to the worlde that he were of some religion. His words to all men against whom he conceaveth any displeasure, howe unjuste soever yt be, so prowde and spiteful, that rather he seemeth monarche of the worlde than he that not longe since we have seene and knowne the Lord Darlye.

"All honor that maye be attributed unto any man by a wife he hath yt wholly and fully, all prayse that may be spoken of him he lacketh not from herselfe, all dignities that she can indue him with are already given and granted. No man pleaseth her that contenteth not hym, and what maye I saye more, she hathe given over unto hym her whole wyll, to be ruled and guyded as hymself

best lyketh. She can as much prevayle with hym in anye thynge that is agaynst his wyll, as your lordship maye with me to perswade that I sholde hange myself. This laste dignitie owte of hande to have him proclamed kinge, she wolde have had it differed untyl it were agreed by parlamente, or had bene hymself twenty-one yeres of age, that thynges done in hys name myght have the better autoritye. He wold in no case have it differed one daye, and either then or never. Whereupon this dowte is rysen amongest our men of law, whether she, beinge clade with a housbande, and her housbande not twenty-one yeres, anythinge withowte parlemente can be of strengthe that is done betwene them. Upon Saturdaye at afternone these matters were longe in debating, and, before theie were well resolved upon, at nine howres at night, by three heraulde, at sounde of the trumpet, he was proclamed kinge. This daye, Mondaye, at twelve of the clocke, the lords, all that were in thys toune, were presente at the proclaming of hym agayne, when no man sayd so much as amen, savinge his father, that cried owte aloude, 'God save his Grace!'

"The manner of the marriage was in thys sorte. Upon Sondaye, in the morninge, betwene five and six, she was conveide by divers of her nobles to the chappell. She had upon her backe the greate

mourninge gowne of blacke, with the greate wyde mourninge hoode, not unlyke unto that which she wore the doleful daye of the buriall of her housbande. She was ledde unto the chappell by the Earles Lenex and Athol, and there she was lefte untyll her housbande came, who was also conveide by the same lords. The ministers, two priests, did there receave them, the bans are asked the third time, and an instrumente taken by a notarie that no man sayde agaynst them or alledged anye cause why the marriage might not procede. The words were spoken, the rings, which were three, the middle a riche diamonde, were put upon her finger, theie kneel together and manie prayers said over them. She carrieth owte the.....and he taketh a kysse, and leaveth her there, and wente to her chamber, whither in a space she followeth, and there being required, accordinge to the solemnities, to cast off her care, and lay asyde those sorrowful garments and give herself to a pleasanter lyfe. After some prettie refusall, more I believe for manner sake than greef of harte, she suffreth them that stoode by, everie man that coulde approache, to take oute a pyn, and so being commytted unto her ladies, changed her garments, but wente not to bedde, to signifie unto the worlde that it was no luste moved them to marrie, but onlye the necessitie of her countrie, not if she wyll to leave it destitute of an

heire. Suspicious men, or such as are given of all thyngs to make the worste, wolde that it sholde be beleeved that theie knewe each other before that theie came there. I wolde not your lordship shold so believe, the lykelyhoods are so greate to the contrarie, that if it were possible to se such an act done I wolde not beleve it. To their dynner theie were conveide by the whole nobles. The trumpets sounde, a larges cried, and monie thrown abowte the howse in greate abundance to suche as were happie to get any parte. Theie dyne both at one table upon the upper hande. There serve her these earles, Athall shower, Morton carver, Crayforde cupbearer. These serve hym in lyke offices, Earles Eglinton, Cassells, and Glencarne. After dyner theie dance awhile, and retire themselves tyll the howr of supper, and as theie dyne so do theie suppe. Some dancing there was, and so theie go to bedd."

1566.

Rizzio, a native of Piedmont, came over from France, in December 1561, in the suite of Monsieur Moret, the ambassador of Savoy who was supposed to be commissioned to propose a marriage between the queen and the Duke de Nemours. Soon afterwards he was appointed a valet of the queen's chamber. Melvil informs us that the queen had three of these

valets, who sung three parts, and wanted a bass for the fourth. Rizzio was recommended to the queen as a person capable of supplying this deficiency; and Birrel tells us that he was skilful in poetry as well as music. He continued in the queen's service as one of her valets and singers till December, 1564, when she appointed him her private secretary for the French language, instead of Roulet, whom she had brought from France, and whom she esteemed till he misbehaved. In this post Rizzio rendered himself extremely useful, and he was very active in promoting the marriage of his mistress with Darnley.

A joint letter from Randolph and the Earl of Bedford, who commanded the English forces on the borders, to the council of Queen Elizabeth, furnishes minute details of the circumstances attending the murder of Rizzio, a scene with which, as Raumer observes, there are few in the history of the world that can be compared.

"The quene's husband being entred into a vehement suspicion of David, that by hym somethynge was committed which was moste agaynst the quene's honor, and not to be borne of his parte, fyrst communicated his mynde to George Duglas, who, fynding his sorrowes so greate, sought all the meanes he coulde to put some remedie to his grief, and communicating the same unto my Lord Ruthen by

the king's commandement, no other waye could be founde than that David sholde be taken out of the waye. Wherein he was so erneste and daylie pressed the same, that no reste could be had untyll it was put in execution. To this it was founde good that the Lord Morton and Lord Lindesaye should be made privie, to th' intente that theie might have their friends at hande if neede requyred, which cawsed them to assemble so many as theie thoughte sufficient agaynst the tyme that this determination of their's should be put in execution, which was determined the 9th of this instant, three dayes before the parliamente sholde begin, at what tyme the said lords were assured that th' erles Argile, Murraye, Rothes, and their complices should have bene forfeited, if the king could not be persuaded through this meanes to be their friendes, who, for the desyre he had that his intente should take effecte th' one waye, was contente to yielde without all difficultie to th' other, with this condition, that theie wolde give their consents that he might have the crowne matrimoniall.

" He was so impatient to see these things he sawe, and were daylie brought to his eares, that he daylie pressed the saide Lord Ruthen that there might be no longer delaye; and to th' intent it might be manifeste to the worlde that he approved the acte, was contente to be at the doing of it him-

self. Upon the Saturdaye, at night, nere unto eight of the clocke, the king conveyeth himself, the Lord Ruthen, George Duglas and two other, thorow his own chamber, by the privie stairs up to the quene's chamber, joyning to which there is a cabinet about twelve footes square, in the same a little lowe reposing bedde, and a table, at the which there were sitting at the supper the quene, the Ladie Argile,[a] and David, with his cappe upon his heade. Into the cabinet ther cometh in the king and Lord Ruthen, who willed David to come forthe, saying that ther was no place for him. The quene saide that it was her wyll. Her husbande answerede that it was agaynste her honor. The Lord Ruthen saide that he shold learne better his duetie, and offering to have taken hym by the arme, David tooke the quene by the blightes of her gowne, and put hymselfe behinde the quene, who wolde gladly have saved hym, but the king having loosed his hands, and holding her in his armes, David was thruste owte of the cabinet thorowe the bed-chamber, into the chamber of presence, where were the Lord Morton and Lord Lindesaye, who intending that night to have reserved hym, and the next day to hang hym, so manie being about them that bore him evil will, one thrust him into the bodie with a dagger, and

[a] Half-sister to Mary, being a natural daughter of James V., and wife of the Earl of Argyle.

after hym a greate many other, so that he had in his bodie above sixty wounds. It is tolde for certaine that the king's owne dagger was lefte sticking in hym; whether he strucke him or not we cannot knowe for certayne. He was not slayne in the quene's presence, as was saide, but going down the stayres owte of the chamber of presence.

"There remayned a longe tyme with the quene her husbande and the Lord Ruthen. She made, as we heare, greate intercession that he sholde have no harme.[b] She blamed greatlye her husbande that was the author of so fowle an acte. It is sayde that he did answer that David had more companie of her body than he, for the space of two months, and therefore, for her honor and his owne contentement, he gave his consent that he shold be taken awaye. 'It is not,' sayth she, 'the woman's parte to seeke the husbande, and therefore in that the faulte was his owne.' He said that when he came, she either wolde not or made herself sicke. 'Well,' saith she, 'you have taken your laste of me and your farewell.' 'That were pittie,' sayth the Lord Ruthen, 'he is your majestie's husbande, and you must yield duetie to each other.' 'Why may not

[b] "It is our parts rather to passe this matter over in silence than to make anye such rehearsall of things committed to us in secret, but we know to whom we wryte, and above all things to your wisedomes."

I,' sayth she, 'leave hym, as well as your wife did her husbande? Other have done the like.'

"The Lord Ruthen saide that she was lawfullie divorced from her husbande, and for no suche cause as the king found himself greeved. Besides, this man was meane, base, enemie to the nobilitie, shame to her, and destruction to her grace's country. 'Well,' sayth she, 'it shall be deare blude to some of you if hys be spylte.' 'God forbid!' sayth the Lord Ruthen, 'for the more your grace showe yourself offended, the worlde will judge the worse.'

"Her husbande thys tyme speaketh little. Her grace contynuallie weepeth. The Lord Ruthen being evill at ease and weake, calleth for a drinke, and sayth, 'This I must do with your majestie's pardon,' and persuadeth her in the best sorte he could that she wolde pacifie herself.

"Before the kinge left tawlke with the quene, in the hearinge of the Lord Ruthen, she was contente that he sholde lye with her that night. We know not how he forslowe hymselfe, but came not at her, and excused hymselfe to his friends that he was so sleepie, that he coulde not wake in due tyme.

"There were in this compaynie two that came in with the king, th'one Andrewe Car of Fawsensyde, who, the quene sayth, wolde have stroken

her with a dagger, and one Patrick Balentyne, brother to the justice clerke, who also, her grace sayth, offered a dagge [a sort of pistol] agaynste her bellye, with cocke downe. We have bene ernestly in hand with the Lord Ruthen to knowe the veritie, but he assureth us of the contrarie. There were in the quene's chamber the Lorde Roberte, Arthur Ersken, one or two other. These, at the fyrste offering to make some defence, the Lord Ruthen drew his dagger, and fewe mo weapons than that were not drawne nor seen in her grace's presence, as we are by the saide lord assured."

Respecting the persons concerned in the murder of Rizzio, we are told, in the same letter, "the king hath utterlie forsaken them, and protested before counsell that he was not consenting to the death of David, and that it is sore against his wyll: he wyll neither mayntayne them nor defende them. Whereupon the next daye publicke declaration was made at the marquet cross of Edenburgh, the 21st of this instante, agaynste the lords, declaring the king's innocence in that matter.

"Of the greate substance he [David] nad there is much spoken. Some saye in golde to the value of two thousand pounds sterling. His apparel was verie goode; as it is sayde, fourteen payre of velvet

hose. His chamber well furnished: armour, daggs, pystoletts, harquebusses, twenty-two swords. Of all this nothinge spoiled nor lackinge, saving two or three daggs. He had the custodie of all the quene's letters, which all were delivered unlooked upon. We heare of a jewell that he had hanging aboute his necke of some price that can not be hearde of. He had upon his backe, when he was slayne, a nyghte-gowne of damaske furred, with a sattayne doublet, and hose of russet velvet."

This interesting letter is dated, "at Barwicke, the 27th of Marche, 1566."

There is a letter of Mary's, dated the 2nd of April, 1566, and addressed to the Archbishop of Glasgow, in which she gives the following account of the murder of Rizzio.

"Upon the 9th day of March, we being at even, about seven hours, in our cabinet, at our supper, sociated with our sister the Countess of Argile, our brother the commendator of Holyrood House, the laird of Creich [Beaton], Arthur Erskin, and certain others our domestic servitors, in quiet manner, especially by reason of our evil disposition [indisposition], being counselled to sustain ourselves with flesh, having then passed almost to the end of seven months in our birth, the king our husband came to us in our cabinet, and placed himself beside us at our supper. The Earl of

Morton and Lord Lindsay, with their assisters, boden in warlike manner [properly armed], to the number of eighteen persons, occupied the whole entry of our palace of Holyrood House, so that, as they believed, it was not possible for any person to escape forth of the same. In that mean time, the Lord Ruthven boden [armed] in like manner, with his complices, took entry perforce in our cabinet, and there seeing our secretary, David Riccio, among others our servants, declared he had to speak with him. In this instant, we required the king our husband, if he knew any thing of that enterprize, who denied the same. Also, we commanded the Lord Ruthven, under the pain of treason, to avoid him forth of our presence, (he [Riccio] then for refuge took safeguard, having retired him behind our back) but Ruthven, with his complices, cast down our table upon ourself, put violent hands on him, struck him over our shoulder with whinyards [hangers], one part of them standing before our face, with bended daggs [cocked pistols], most cruelly took him out of our cabinet, and at the entry of our chamber gave him fifty-six strokes with whinyards and swords. In doing whereof, we were not only struck with great dread, but also, by sundrie considerations, was most justly induced to take extreme fear of our life. After this deed, immediately, the said Lord Ruthen,

coming again into our presence, declared how they and their complices were highly offended with our proceedings and tyranny, which was not to them tolerable; how we were abused by the said David, whom they had actually put to death, namely, in taking his counsel for maintenance of the ancient religion, debaring of the lords who were fugitives, and entertaining of amity with foreign princes and nations with whom we were confederate, putting also upon council the Lords Bothwell and Huntley, who were traitors, and with whom he [Riccio] associated himself; that the lords banished in England were that morn to resort to us, and would take plain part with them in our controversy, and that the king was willing to remit them their offences. We all this time took no less care of ourselves than for our counsel and nobility, to wit, the Earls Huntly, Bothwell, Athole, Lords Fleming and Levingston, Sir James Balfour, and certain others, our familiar servitors, against whom the enterprize was conspier, as well as for David, and namely, to have hanged Sir James; yet, by the providence of God, the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly escaped at a back window by some cords; the conspirator took some fear, and thought themselves disappointed in their enterprize. The Earl of Athole, and Sir James Balfour, by some other means, with

the Lords Fleming and Levingston, obtained deliverance.

"The provost and town of Edinburgh, having understood this tumult in our palace, caused ring their common bell, came to us in great number, and desired to have seen our presence and communed with us, and to have known our welfare; to whom we were not permitted to give answer, being extremely bosted by their lords, who in our face declared, if we desired to have spoken them, they should cut us in collops, and cast us over the walls.

"Our brother the Earl of Murray, that same day at even, accompanied by the Earl of Rothes, Pitarrow, Grange, and others, came to us, and, seeing our state, was moved with natural affection towards us; upon the morn he assembled the enterprizers of the late crime and such of our rebels as came with him. In their council they thought it most expedient that we should be warded in our castle of Stirling, there to remain till we had approved in parliament all their wicked enterprizes, established their religion, and given to the king the crown matrimonial and the whole government of our realm, or else by all appearance prepared to put us to death, or to detain us in perpetual captivity.

"That night we declared our state to the king our husband, certifying him how miserably he would be handled, if he permitted the lords to prevail, and how unacceptable it would be to other princes our confederates, in case he altered the religion. By this persuasion he was induced to condescend to the purpose taken by us, and to retire in our company to Dunbar. We, being minded to have gotten ourselves relieved of this detention, desired, in quiet manner, the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly to have prepared some way whereby we might have escaped; who not doubting therein, at the least, taking no regard to hazard their lives in that behalf, devised that we should have come over the walls of the palace in the night upon chairs, which they had in readiness to that effect soon after."

To this letter was added, in the queen's own hand, "I beseech you, as soon as this shall come to hand, to communicate the contents to the court, to prevent false reports from being circulated; and do not fail to impart it to the ambassadors."

It will be seen from the above, that Mary makes not the most distant allusion to the real motive for the murder of Rizzio, and it is studiously kept out of sight by her partial biographer, Chalmers.

1567.

Of Darnley's murder, the queen gives a short account in the following letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

"Maist Rev. Fader in God and traist counseilor, we grait ye weil. We have receivit this morning your letters of the 27th of January, by your servant, Robert Dury, containing in ane part sic advertisement as we find by effect overtrue, albeit the success has not altogether been sic as the authoris of that mischievous fact had pre-conceivit and had put it in execution, and if God in his mercy had not preservit us, as we traist to the end we may tak a rigorous vengeance of that mischievous deed, quhilk or it sould remain unpunishit we had rather lose life and all. The matter is horrible and so strange, as we believe the like was never heard of in any country.

"This night past, being the 9th of February, a little after two houris after midnight, the house quhairin the king was logit was in ane instant blawing in the air, he lyand sleipand in his bed, with sic a vehemencie that of the haill loging, wallis and other, there is nathing remainit, na, not a stane above another, but all either carreit far away or dung in dross to the very ground stane. It mon be done be force of powder, and appearis to

have been a myne; be quhome it has been done or in quhat manner it appearis not as yet. We doubt not bot according to the diligence oure counsal has begun alreddie to use the certaintie of all sal be usit schortlie; and the same being discoverit quhilk we wott God will never suffer to ly hid, we hope to punish the same with sic rigor as sal serve for example of this crueltie to all ages to cum. Allwayes quhoever has taken this wicked interprys in hand, we assure ourself it was dressit as wel for us as for the king; for we lay the maist part of all the last week in that same loging, and was thair accompanyit with the maist part of the lordis that ar in this toun, that same night at midnight, and of very chance tarryit not all night be reason of some maske in the abbaye; but we believe it was not chance but God to put in our hede. We despatchit this berars upon the sudden and therefor wraitis to you the mair schortlie. The rest of your letter we sal answer at mair laser within four or five dayis by your owne servant. And sua for the present committis you to Almightie God.

"At Edinburgh, the 11th day of Februar, 1566-7."

The letters of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who had been sent as Elizabeth's ambassador to Edinburgh, in place of Randolph, show how extremely unpopular Mary had rendered herself among the

great mass of her subjects by her marriage with Bothwell.

On the 14th of July, 1567, he writes to Queen Elizabeth as follows:

"The Queen of Scotland remaineth in good health, in the castle of Lochleven, guarded by the Lord Linsay and Lochleven, the owner of the house; for the Lord Ruthven is employed in another commission, because he began to show great favour to the queen, and to give her intelligence. She is waited on with five or six ladys, four or five gentlemen, and two chamberers, whereof one is a French woman. The Earle of Buchan, the Earle of Murray's brother, hath also liberty to come to her at his pleasure; the lords aforesaid, which have her in guard, doe keep her very straitly, and as far as I can perceive, their rigour proceedeth by their order from these men, because that the queen will not by any means be induced to lend her authority to prosecute the murder, nor will not consent by any persuasion to abandon the Lord Bothwell for her husband, but avoweth constantly that she will live and die with him, and saith that if it were put to her choice to relinquish her crown and kingdom or the Lord Bothwell, she would leave her kingdom and dignity to go as a simple damsel with him, and that she will never consent that he shall fare worse or have more harm than herself.

"And, as far as I can perceive, the principal cause of her detention is for that these lords do see the queen being of so fervent affection towards the Earle Bothwell as she is, and being put as they should be in continual arms, and to have occasion of many battles, he being with manifest evidence notoriously detected to be the principall murderer, and the lords meaning prosecution of justice against him according to his merits.

"The lords mean also a divorce betwixt the queen and him, as a marriage not to be suffered for many respects; which separation cannot take place, if the queen be at liberty and have power in her hands.

"Against the 20th day of this month there is a generall assembly of all the churches, shires, and boroughs touns of this realm, namely, of such as be contented to repair to these lords to this toun, where it is thought the whole state of this matter will be handeled, and, I fear me, much to the queen's disadvantage and danger; unless the Lord of Ledington and some others which be best affected unto her do provide some remedy; for I perceive the great number, and in manner all, but chiefly the common people, which have assisted in these doings, do greatly dishonour the queen, and mind seriously either her deprivation or her destruction. I used the best means I can, considering the furie of

the world here, to prorogue this assembly, for that appeareth to me the best remedy; I may not speak of dissolution of it, for that may not be abiden, and I should thereby bring myself into great hatred and peril. The chiefest of the lords which be here present at this time dare not show so much lenity to the queen as I think they could be contented, for fear of the rage of the people. The women be most furious and impudent against the queen, and yet the men be mad enough; so as a stranger over busie may soon be made a sacrifice amongst them.

"It is a publyke speeche," he writes again, July 18th, to the queen, "amongest all the people, and amongest all the estates (saving the counsellors) that theyre quene hath no more lyberty nor pryviledge to commit murder nor adulterye than any other private person, neyther by God's lawe nor by the laws of the realme."

Sir James Melvil relates the fate of Bothwell in the following terms:

"Now the Laird of Grange, his two ships being in readinesse, he made sail towards Orkney, and no man was so frank to accompany him as the Laird of Tullybarden and Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney. But the earl [Bothwell] was fled from Orkney to Sheatland, whither also they followed him, and came in sight of Bothwell's ship, which moved the Laird of

Grange to cause the skippers to hoise up all the sails, which they were loath to do, because they knew the shallow water thereabout. But Grange, fearing to miss him, compelled the mariners, so that for two great haste the ship wherein Grange was did break upon a bed of sand, without loss of a man, but Bothwell had leisure in the mean time to save himself in a little boat, leaving his ship behind him, which Grange took, and therein the Laird of Tallow, John Hepburn, of Banteun, Dalgleest, and divers others of the Earl's servants. Himself fled to Denmark, where he was taken and kept in strait prison, wherein he became mad and dyed miserably."

1561-1567.

The following miscellaneous particulars, illustrative of the tastes, habits, and manners of the Queen of Scots, relate almost exclusively to that period of her life when she enjoyed the power, as well as the state and title, of royalty. Of that power she was deprived for ever upon her imprisonment in the castle of Lochleven. This appears, therefore, to be a proper place for the introduction of these gleanings.

Cotgrave tells us that Mary, after the decease of Francis II., was called by the people of France, "the white queen," because she wore that colour

for mourning, a fashion which was altered in 1559, at the funeral of Henry II., by the queen mother.

Mary always took great delight in dress, and this she shows in several of the letters of this collection addressed to her minister in Paris. "She had," says Chalmers, "a great variety of dresses, as we learn from her wardrobe accounts. They consisted of gownes, vaskenis,[c] skirtes, sleves, doublettis, vaillis, vardingallis, cloikis. She had ten pair of wolven hois [woven hose] of gold, silver, and silk, three pair of woven hois of worsted of Guernsey. She had thirty-six pair of velvet shoes, pasmental [laced] with gold and silver. She had six pair of gloves of worsted of Guernsey."

"Elizabeth," remarks the same writer, "is said to have received, as a present from France, a pair of black silk stockings, which she had the honour to wear the first in England. As hose seems to be an older word than stockens, it is not quite certain whether Mary's *hois* may not have been silk stockens woven with gold and silver, and of earlier importation and use."

Mary's common wearing gowns appear to have been made some of chamlate, some of damis, and some of serge of Florence, bordered with black velvet. Her riding cloaks and skirts were of

[c] Vasquine, we learn from Cotgrave, is a kirtle or petticoat, also a Spanish fardingale.

black serge of Florence, stiffened in the neck and other parts with buckram, and mounted with pasementis [lace] and ribbons.

Her household-book, which is still preserved, furnishes a complete detail of the queen's establishment, but, says Chalmers, "some research and some skill are required to render it intelligible. Her cloth of gold, her tapestry, her Turkey carpets, her beds and coverlets, her *burd claithes*, her table cloathes of *dornick*, her vessels of glass, her chairs and stools covered with velvet, and garnished with fringes, her *doublettis*, *vaskenis*, and *skirtes*, though very gorgeous, may be allowed to have something of the tawdry appearance of a pawnbroker's warehouse."

For some time after her return to Scotland, the clothes and equipments for herself, her ladies, and attendants, were black, and some of the servants wore "black grey." Randolph writes to Cecil respecting the intended interview between the two queens, that to avoid expence it was determined that all men should wear nothing but black cloth, as the queen had not cast off her mourning garments, and these she continued to wear till her marriage with Darnley in July, 1565.

As to the queen's amusements, we may see in the wardrobe-book that she was a chess-player, but one of her great domestic amusements was shooting at the butts.

"The next day" [April 22, 1562] writes Randolph to Cecil, "after the council was risen, the queen's grace, as she doth oft, did in her privy garden shoot at the butts; where the duke and other noblemen were present, and I also admitted for one to behold the pastime." After some conference with the duke, he adds: "we ended our talk for that time, and gave ourselves again to behold the pastimes, which woulde have well contented your honour to have seen the queen and the master of Lindsay to shoot against the Earl of Mar and one of the ladies."

It was then the queen's ordinary practice to sit in the council chamber sewing some work, when her ministers were assembled, to hear their discussions and conclusions.

Hawking was a favourite pastime with the great in the middle ages. Mary's father and grandfather were both passionately attached to this amusing as well as healthful sport; and a falconer and his assistants formed part of their establishments. James Lindsay, who was master falconer at the death of James V., with a salary of £66. 13*s.* 4*d.*, had seven falconers under him; he continued to hold the office during Mary's minority, but his assistants were reduced to four. The queen herself was fond of hawking, and frequently partook of that diversion, with the lords and ladies of her court, in Lo-

thian, and sometimes in Fife. In 1562, she sent a present of hawks to Queen Elizabeth, and her treasurer paid James Gray £80 for carrying them to London. In 1565, two additional falconers were added to her establishment on account of Darnley, who was passionately fond of the sport.

The queen had gardens at all her houses, though not perhaps of great extent, or much improved by bringing art to the aid of nature. In her gardens she delighted, as was the practice of Elizabeth, to receive and converse with ambassadors and other public men on business. She was in the habit, not only of walking in gardens, but of taking long walks with her ladies and lords, and also with the foreign ambassadors, who, as we learn from Randolph's letters to Cecil, did much of their business in those walks. At Holyrood House there were two gardens, the southern and the northern, one of them probably the old garden of the abbey, the other formed by James IV. when he built the palace. The park to the same palace was enlarged by her father. At Linlithgow, at Stirling Castle, and at Falkland, she had gardens and parks. Lindsay, the poet, who flourished under James V., describes the hunting of the deer in the park at Falkland, with the other pastimes of which he seems to have had his full share. At St. Andrew's, and at Perth, she had a house and garden, and she

made use of those gardens, as we have seen, for the more private pastime of shooting at the butts.

It is related that the queen brought with her from France a young sycamore plant, which, nursed in the garden of Holyrood House, became the parent of all the beautiful groves of that tree so often celebrated in Scottish song. Miss Benger says that it was in existence till about four years before her life of Mary was written (1823), when it was blown down, and its wood formed into trinkets, which were sold as precious relics.

The queen's musicians, as objects of amusement, and still more as essentials in her religious worship, engaged much of her attention. In her earliest age she had minstrels attached to her establishment. In 1561 and 2 she had five violars, or players on the viol. At the same time she had three players on the lute. Some of the valets of the chamber also played on the lute and sang. The queen herself played on the lute and the virginals, as we learn from Melvill. In 1564, when he was sent by Mary to Elizabeth, the latter asked if his mistress played well, to which he answered, reasonably, as a queen. Mary had also a schalmer, which was a sort of pipe or fluted instrument, but not a bagpipe; and pipers and schalmers were sometimes used synonymously in the treasurer's books in the time of James IV. The queen had

also a small establishment of singers. Melvill informs us that she had three valets of her chamber, who sung three parts, and wanted a bass to sing the fourth part; and Rizzio, being recommended to the queen as a person fit to make the fourth in concert, was drawn in sometimes to sing with the other valets.

Before the reformation, organs were the common instruments of music in churches; but in 1559 and 1560 they were generally destroyed as profane. That in the royal chapel in Stirling Castle was saved, because the mob could not reach it.

In December, 1562, Randolph informed Cecil that the queen's musicians, both Scotch and French, refused to play and sing at her mass and even-song on Christmas-day; "thus," he adds, "is her poor soul so troubled for the preservation of her silly mass, that she knoweth not where to turn herself for defence of it." In April, 1565, she had a band of music, concerning which Randolph writes: "Your honour shall know for certain that greater triumph there was never in any time of most popery than was this Easter, at the resurrection and at her high mass; organs were wont to be the common music; she wanted now neither trumpets, drum, nor fife, bagpipe nor tabor.

The queen's women formed a great object of her

solicitude, though she had nothing like the female establishments of modern courts. The four Maries, Fleming, Betown, Livingston, and Seton, who had been her companions in infancy, and accompanied her to France, continued still about her, besides other "dames, damoisellis, and maidinnis."

To the service of the ladies were attached an embroiderer and a tapestry-maker; and each lady had a man and woman servant to attend her. At breakfast and collation two dishes were allotted to each person of the higher class. Wine was served in profusion at every meal, and the daily consumption in the hall and the queen's chamber amounted to thirty gallons.

As Mary's mother was one of the largest of women, so was she "of higher stature" than Elizabeth, as we learn from Melvill. Elizabeth's hair was "more red than yellow," says the same writer, while Mary's was light auburn, with chestnut-coloured eyes. Mary had Grecian features, with a nose somewhat out of proportion long, as her father's was. According to the general opinion, the Queen of Scots was handsomer than her rival.

When Elizabeth asked Melvill whether she or his queen danced best, the cautious Scot replied that his queen danced not so high and disposedly as Elizabeth did: he might have added, that his queen danced the most gracefully, but he had tact

enough to know that this would not have been palatable to the jealous sovereign.

Elizabeth read Greek with Ascham; Mary read Latin with Buchanan. The minds of both were highly cultivated: but Elizabeth possessed in a superior degree the masculine faculty of decision. Mary was defective in this most requisite quality of a sovereign—a defect contracted at the court of France, where she had been accustomed to see the monarch yielding an easy assent to a predominant minister.

1568.

Of Mary's first abortive attempt to escape from Lochleven, Sir William Drury gives the following account, in a letter to Cecil. After mentioning the visit paid her there by the regent, Murray, whom she upbraided for the rigour with which she was treated, he proceeds: "From that she entered into another purpose, being marriage; praying she might have a husband, and named one to her lykinge, George Dowglas, brother to the Lord of Lowghlewyn. Unto the which th'erle replied that he was over meane a marriage for her grace; and sayd furder, that he, with the rest of the nobilitie, would take advice thereupon.

"This, in substance, was all that passed betwene the quene and th'Erle of Murrey, at that tyme. But after, uppon 25th of the last, she enterprised

an escape, and was the rather nerer effect throughe her accustomed long being a bedd all the morning. The manner of it was thus: There cometh into her the landresse early as other tymes before she was wonted, and the quene (according to such a secret practice) putteth on the weede of her landresse, and so, with the fardell of clothes, and her muffler upon her face, passeth owt and entreth the boat to pass the Loughe, which, after some space, one of them that rowed said merily, 'Let us see what manner of dame this is!' and therewith offered to pull downe her muffler, which, to defend, she put upp her hands, which they espyed to be very fayre and white, wherewith they entered into suspition whom she was, beginning to wonder at her enterprise. Whereat she was litle dismayed, but chardged them uppon danger of their lives to rowe her over to the shore, which they nothing regarded, but eftesones rowed her back agayne, promising her that it should be secreted, and in especiall from the lord of the house under whose gard she lieth. It seemeth she knew her refuge, and where to have founde it, if she had ones landed, for there did and yet do linger George Douglas, at a little village called Kinrosse, hard at the Lowghe side, and with the same George Dowglasse, one Simple and one Beeton, the which two were sometyme her trusty servants, and as yet appereth they mynd her no less affection."

A second attempt, planned by George Douglas, was equally unsuccessful. For his friendly offices he was expelled from the castle, but not till he had secured in her interest another Douglas, an orphan boy, who had from infancy lived in the family, a poor dependant on the Laird of Lochleven. Mary, however, discouraged by former failures, wrote to the Queen Dowager of France, that she was watched night and day, the girls of the castle sleeping in her chamber; and that, unless the French king interposed, she must be a prisoner for life. In the evening of the very next day, William Douglas had the dexterity to steal the keys from the hall where the laird and his mother were sitting at supper. At the appointed signal the queen once more descended with her female attendant to the lake, where a little boat was waiting. Both hastily entered: the maiden assisted the youth in rowing, and, on approaching the shore, he flung the keys of the castle into the lake. Another coadjutor in this enterprize was John Beaton, who had held frequent communication with George Douglas, and, with his assistance, provided horses to facilitate the queen's deliverance. The keys of the castle were found on the 20th of October, 1805, and delivered to Mr. Taylor, of Kinross, by whom they were presented to the Earl of Morton, the lineal representative of the Douglas of Lochleven.

1568.

From letters of Mr. Lowther's, in the State Paper Office, we learn that when the Queen of Scots entered England, "her attire was very mean," and she had no other to change; that she had very little money, as he conceived; and he had himself defrayed the charge of her journey from Cockermouth to Carlisle, and provided horses for herself and attendants." Notwithstanding her apparel, however, Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys could not but discover that she was as superior in person as in rank. The latter wrote to Cecil: "Surely she is a rare woman; for, as no flattery can abuse her, so no plain speech seems to offend her, if she thinks the speaker an honest man." On the 28th of June, Knollys again writes to Cecil: "So that now here are six waiting-women, although none of reputation but Mistress Mary Seaton, who is praised by this queen to be the finest busker, that is to say, the finest dresser of a woman's head of hair that is to be seen in any country; whereof we have seen divers experiences since her coming hither: and among other pretty devices, yesterday and this day, she did set such a curled hair upon the queen, that was said to be a perewyke, that showed very delicately; and every other day she hath a new device of head-dressing without any cost, and yet setteth forth a woman gaylie well."

Graham, the messenger sent by Scrope and Knollys to the Earl of Murray, for the queen's wardrobe at Lochleven Castle, returned with five small cart-loads and four horse-loads of apparel.

1568.

The letters of Sir Francis Knollys afford many interesting glimpses of Mary's character, and of the impatience which she manifested in this early period of her detention.

The day after his arrival at Carlisle, to take charge, jointly with Lord Scrope, of the royal fugitive, he writes to Queen Elizabeth:

"Repayring into the castle, we fownd the Quene of Skottes in her chamber of presence ready to receave us; where, after salutations made, and our declaration also of your highnes' sorrowfulnes for her lamentable misadventures and inconvenyent arryvall, although your highnes was gladd and joyfull of her good escape from the peryll of her persone, with many circumstances thereunto belonging, and we found her in her answers to have an eloquent tonge, and a discrete head, and it seemeth by her doinges she hath stout courage and liberall harte adjoined therunto. And after our delyvery of your highnes' letters, she fell into some passion with the water in her eyes, and therwith she drew us with her into her bedd-chamber, where she complayned

unto us, for that your highnes did not answer her expectation for the admytting her into your presence forthwith, that, uppon declaration of her innocency, your highnes wold eyther withowt delay give her ayde yourselfe to the subduing of her enemyes, or els being now come of good will and not of necessitie into your highnes' handes (for a good and greatest parte of her subjectes, sayd she, do remayne fast unto her styll), your highnes wold at the leaste forthwith gyve her passage through your countrye into France, to seeke ayde at other prynces' handes, not dowting but both the French king and the King of Spayne wold gyve her relief in that behalf to her satisfaction.

"And nowe it behoveth your highnes, in mine opynion, gravely to consider what answer is to be made herein, specially because that many gentlemen of diverse shires here neare adjoyning within your realme, have heard her dayly defence and excuses of her innocency, with her great accusations of her enemyes very eloquently told, before our coming hither; and therefore I, the vice-chamberlayne, do referr to your highnes' better consideration, whether it were not honorable for you in the syght of your subjectes and of all forrayn prynces, to put her grace to the choyse whether she woll depart backe into her contrye without your highness' impechement, or whether she woll remayne at your highnes' de-

votion within your realme here, with her necessary servants only to attend upon her, to see howe honorably your highnes can do for her. For by this meanes your highnes, I thynke, shall stopp the mouthes of backbyters, that otherwyse wold blowe owte seditious rumors, as well in your own realme as elsewhere, of detaynyng of her ungratefully. And yet I thynk it is lykely that if she had her owne choyse, she wold not go back into her owne realme presently, nor untyll she myght looke for succor of men owte of France to joyne with her there. Or if she wold go presently into her owne contrye, the worse were that peradventure with danger inoughe she myght get into France, and that wold hardly be done, if my Lorde of Murraye have a former inkling of her departure thither. And on the other syde, she cannot be kept so rygorously as a prysoner with your highnes' honor, in myn opynion, but with devyces of towels or toyes at her chamber wyndow, or elswhere, in the nyght, a body of her agylity and spyryte may eskape soone, being so neare the border. And surely to have her carryed furder into the realme, is the hygh way to a dangerous sedition, as I suppose."

On the 11th of June he writes to Cecil:

"This ladie and pryncess is a notable woman. She semeth to regard no ceremonious honor besyde the acknowledging of her estate regalle. She shew-

eth a disposition to speake much, to be bold, to be pleasant, and to be very famylyar. She sheweth a great desyre to be avenged of her enemyes; she sheweth a readines to expose herselfe to all perylls in hope of victorie; she delyteth much to hear of hardines and valiancye, commending by name all approved hardy men of her cuntrye, altho they be her enemyes; and she commendeth no cowardnes even in her frendes. The thyng that most she thirsteth after is victory, and it semeth to be indifferent to her to have her enemies dimynish, either by the sword of her frendes, or by the liberall promises and rewardes of her purse, or by divysion and quarrells raised amongst themselffes; so that, for victorie's sake, payne and perrylls semeth pleasant unto her, and in respect of victorie, welthe and all thyngs semeth to her contemptuous and vile. Nowe what is to be done with such a ladie and pryncess, or whether such a pryncess and ladye be to be nouryshed in one's bosome, or whether it be good to halte and dissemble with such a ladye, I referr to your judgment."

Two days later he thus expresses himself to the same minister:

"To be playne with you, there is no fayre semblance of speeche that semeth to wynne anye credyt with her; and, altho she is content to take and allow of this message to my Lorde of Murraye for

abstinence from hostilities, because it makes for her purpose to staye her partie from falling presently from her, yet she seeth that this colde delaying woll not satisfye her fyery stomache, and surely it is a great vanitie (in myn opynion) to think that she wol be stayde by curtesy, or brydled by straw, from bryngyng in of the Frenche into Skotland, or from employing all her force of monye, men of warr, and of frendshipp, to satisfye her bluddye appetite to shedd the bludde of her enemyes. As for imprysonment, she makes none account therof; and, unless she be removed as a prysoner, it semeth she woll not be removed furder into the realme, to be detayned from her hyghnes' presence. She playnly affirmeth that, howesoever she be detayned, the Duke of Shattilleroe, beyng heyre apparent, shall prosecute her quarrell with the power of the Frenche, and all the ayd of her dowrye and masse of monye by any meanes to be levied and made for her.

"Nowe, she being thus desperately sett, it is to be considered whether her hyghnes defraying her here within her realme, shall not therby able her to imploy £12,000 yerely, being her dowrye in France, both agaynst Skotland and consequently agaynst England, wheras if she were at libertye, all her dowrye wold be spent uppon her owne findyng, and the charges that her hyghnes shall be at in defraying of her here wold be well employed in Skot-

land, to the defending and expulsing of the French from thence. But I speak lyke a blynde bussard, and therfor woll leave these matters to you that have judgment."

Again, on the 15th of June:

"Yesterdaye her grace wente owte at a posterne to walk on a playing greene towards Skotland; and we, with twenty-four halberders of Master Read's band, with dyverse gentlemen and other servants, wayted upon her, where abowte twenty of her retinue playd at foote-balle before her the space of two howers, very strongly, nimblie, and skilfullie, withowte any fowle playe offerd, the smalnes of theyr balle occasionyng theyr fayre playe.

"And before yesterdaye, synce our comyng, she went but twyse oute of the towne, once to the lyke playe at foote-balle in the same place, and once she rode owte a huntyng the hare, she galloping so faste upon every occasion, and her whole retinue being so well horsed, that we, uppon experience thereof, dowting, that uppon a sett course some of her frendes out of Skotland might invade and assault us upon the sodayne for to reskue and take her from us, we meane hereafter, if any such ryding pastimes be required that waye, so much to feare the indangering of her person by some sodayn invasion of her enemies, that she must hold us excused in that behalfe."

On the 21st of the same month, Knollys represents Mary as declaring,

"'I woll seke ayde forthwith at other prynces' handes that woll helpe me, namely, the Frenche king and the King of Spayne, whatsoever come of me; because I have promysed my people to give them ayde by August.' And she sayd that she had found that true, which she had heard often of before her coming hither, which was that she sholde have fayre wordes enowe but no deedes. And surely all deedes are no deedes with her, unlesse her vyolent appetyte be satisfyed. And sayth she, 'I have made great warrs in Skotland, and I praye God I make no troubles in other realmes also:' and parting from us, she sayd, that if we dyd detayne her as a prysoner, we should have much ado wyth her."

"Yesterday," he writes on the 7th of July, "this quene, among other wordes, fell into this speche, that altho she were holden here as a prisoner, yet she had frendes that wolde prosecute her cause, and, sayth she, 'I can sell my ryght, and there be that woll bye it, and peradventure it hathe bene in hand already.' Wherebye she made me to thynk of your information touchyng the Cardinalle of Lorayne's practyse betweene her and the Duke of Anjoye. But whether she spake this *bonâ fide*, or to sett a good countenance of the matter as tho she could do great thyngs, I cannot tell.

"My Lorde of Murraye hath sent, by our messenger, to this quene three coffers of apparyll, but because her grace sayth that never a gowne is sent her hereby, but one of taffyta, and that the rest is but cloaks and coveryngs for saddylls, and sleaves, and partlettes, and qweyffes, and such lyke trynketts, therefore we have sent to my Lorde of Murraye agayne for her desyred apparyll, remayning in Loghlevin; but she doth offer our messengers nothyng at all for their paynes and charges. Wherfore her hyghnes is lyke to beare the charge therof also."

On the 12th of July, after acquainting Cecil with his arrival at Bolton Castle with his charge, he proceeds:

"Since our departure from Carlylle with her, she hath been very quyet, very tractable, and voyde of displesant countenance, altho she sayeth she woll not remove any furder into the realme without constraynt."

"This house appereth to be very strong, very fayer, and verie stately, after the oulde manner of byldyng, and is the hyghest walled house that I have seen, and hath but one entrance there into. And half the number of these soldiers may better watche and warde the same, than the whole number therof could do Carlyll Castle, where Mr. Reade and his soldiers, and Mr. Morton and Mr. Wilford toke great

paynes, and my Lorde Scrope also was a late watcher. The band was divided into five partes, so that the watche and wards came aboute every fifth nyght and every fifth daye, of the which watche and wards we had five governors; the first was Mr. Reade, and Wyllyam Knollys for his learning accompanyed hym, the second was Mr. Morton, the third was Mr. Wylford, the fourthe was Barrett, Mr. Reade's lieutenant, and the fifth was Weste, his ansygne-bearer, a verie sufficient and carefull man also. This quene's chamber at Carlyll had a wyndow lokyng oute towardes Skotland, the barrs wherof being filed asonder, oute of the same she myght have been lett downe, and then she had playne grounds before her to pass into Skotland. But nere unto the same wyndow we founde an olde postern doore, that was dammed upp with a ramper of earth of the inner syde, of twenty foot broade and thirty foot deepe, betweene two walls; for the comoditie of which postern for our sallie to that wyndow wyth readye watche and warde, we dyd cutt into that rampier in forme of stayre with a turning aboute downe to the sayde postern, and so opened the same, without the which devise we coulde not have watched and warded this quene there so safely as we dyd. Altho there was another wyndow of her chamber for passing into an orchard within the towne wall, and so to have slipped over the towne wall, that was very

dangerous, but these matters I can better tell you at my return, uppon a rude platte that I have made theroff."

In a postscript to this letter, Knollys adds:

"The charges of removing of this quene hither was somewhat the larger because we were dryven to hyre four lyttle carrs, and twenty carriage horses, and twenty-thre sadle horses for her women and men; the which was well accomplished upon the sodayne, to her commoditie and satisfaction."

In one of his preceding communications, he had intimated that "this last week's charges came unto £56." In 1581, the allowance to the Earl of Shrewsbury was only £30 per week, and out of this he had to keep forty soldiers for a guard.

1569.

Of Mary's condition, a month after her removal to Tutbury, a letter from Nicholas White (afterwards knighted, and made Master of the Rolls in Ireland), furnishes many interesting particulars.

Nicholas White to Sir W. Cecil.

"Sir, when I came to Colsell, a town in Chester way, I understood that Tutbury Castell was not above half a day's journey out of my way. Finding the wind contrary, and having somewhat to say to my Lord Shrewsbury touching the county of

Wexford, I tooke post-horses and came thither about five of the clocke in the evening, where I was very friendly received by the earle.

"The Quene of Scotts, understanding by his lordship that a servant of the quene's majesty of some credit was come to the house, semed desyrous to speak with me, and thereupon came forth of her privy chamber into the presence chamber where I was, and in very curteise manner bade me welcome, and asked of me how her good syster did. I told her grace that the quene's majesty (God be praised) did very well, saving that all her felicities gave place to some natural passions of grief, which she conceaved for the deathe of her kinswoman and goode servant the Lady Knollys, and how by that occasion her highnes fell for a while from a prince wanting nothing in this world to private mourning, in which solitary estate, being forgettful of her owne helthe, she tooke colde, wherwith she was much troubled, and wherof she was well delivered.

"This much paste, she hearde the Englishe service with a booke of the psalmes in Englishe in her hand, which she showed me after. When service was done, her grace fell in talke with me of sundry matters, from six to seven of the clocke, beginning first to excuse her ill Englishe, declaring herself more willing than apt to lerne that language; how she used translations as a meane to attayne it; and

that Mr. Vice-Chamberlayne was her good schole-master. From this she returned back agayne to talk of my Lady Knollys. And after many speeches past to and fro of that gentilwoman, I, perceyving her to harpe much upon her departure, sayd, that the long absence of her husband (and specially in that article), together with the fervency of her fever, did greatly further her end, wanting nothing els that either art or man's helpe could devise for her recovery, lying in a prince's court nere her person, where every houre her carefull eare understoode of her estate, and where also she was very often visited by her majestie's owne comfortable presence; and sayd merely that, although her grace were not culpable of this accident, yet she was the cause without which their being asunder had not hapned. She sayd she was very sory for her deathe, because she hoped well to have bene acquainted with her. 'I perceyve by my Lord of Shrewsbury,' sayd she, 'that ye go into Irlande, which is a troublesome cuntry, to serve my sister there.' 'I do so, madame; and the chiefest trouble of Irland proceeds from the north of Scotland, through the Earle of Argile's supportation.' Whereunto she litle answered.

"I asked her how she liked her change of ayre. She sayd if it might have pleased her good syster to let her remayn where she was, she would not have removed for change of ayre this tyme of the

yere; but she was the better contented therwith, because she was come so much the nerer to her good syster, whom she desyred to see above all things, if it might please her to graunte the same. I told her grace that although she had not the actuall, yet she had always the effectual presence of the quene's majestie by her greate bounty and kindnes, who, in the opinion of us abrode in the world, did ever performe towards her the office of a gracious prince, a naturall kinswoman, a loving syster, and a faithefull frend; and howe much she had to thanke God that, after the passing of so many perills, she was safely arrived into such a realme, as where all we of the common sort demed she had good cause, through the goodnes of the quene's majestie, to thinke herself rather princelike entertayned, then hardly restrayned of any thing that was fit for her grace's estate; and for my owne parte did wishe her grace mekely to bow her mynde to God, who hath put her into this schole to learne to know him to be above kings and princes of this world; with such other lyke speeches as time and occasion then served, which she very gentilly accepted, and confessed that indede she had great cause to thanke God for sparing of her, and great cause likewise to thanke her good syster for this kindly using of her. As for contentation in this her present estate, she would not require it at

God's hands, but only pacience, which she humbly prayd him to give her.

"I asked her grace, since the weather did cut of all exercises abrode, how she passed the tyme within. She sayd that all the day she wrought with her needil, and that the diversitie of the colors made the worke seme lesse tedious, and continued so long at it till very payn did make her to give it over; and with that layd her hand upon her left syde and complayned of an old grief newely increased there. Upon this occasion she entered into a prety disputable comparison betwene karving, painting, and working with the needil, affirming painting in her owne opinion for the most commendable qualitie. I answered her grace, I could skill of neither of them, but that I have read *Pictura* to be *veritas falsa*. With this she closed up her talke, and bidding me farewell, retyred into her privy chamber.

"She sayd nothing directly of yourself to me. Nevertheles, I have found that which at my first entrance into her presence chamber I imagined, which was, that her servant Bethun had given her some privye note of me; for, as sone as he espied me, he forsake our acquayntance at courte, and repaired straight into her privye chamber, and from that forthe we could never see him. But after supper, Mr. Harry Knollys and I fell into close conference, and he, among other things, told me how loathe

the quene was to leave Bolton Castell, not sparing to give forthe in speeche that the secretary [Cecil] was her enemy, and that she mistrusted by this removing he would cause her to be made away; and that her danger was so much the more, because there was one dwelling very nere Tutbery, which pretended title in succession to the crowne of England, meaning the Earle of Huntingdon. But when her passion was past, as he told me, she sayd that tho the secretary were not her frend, yet she must say that he was an experte wise man, a mayntayner of all good lawes for the governement of this realme, and a faithful servant to his mistres, wishing it might be her luck to get the friendship of so wise a man.

"Sir, I durst take upon my deathe to justifie what manner of man Sir William Cecill is, but I knowe not whence this opinion procedes. The living God preserve her life long, whom you serve in singlenes of heart, and make all her desyred successors to become her predecessors.[d]

"But if I, which in the sight of God beare the quene's majestie a naturall love besyde my bounden dutie, might give advise, there should be very few

[d] Nicholas White's expression is somewhat obscure—he wishes that all who desire by Elizabeth's death to occupy her place may die before her.

subjects in this land have accesse to or conference with this lady. For beside that she is a goodly personage, and yet in truth not comparable to our soverain, she hath withal an alluring grace, a prety Scottishe accente, and a searching wit, clouded with myldness. Fame might move some to relieve her, and glory joyned to gayn might stir others to adventure much for her sake. Then joy is a lively infective sense, and carieth many persuasions to the heart, which ruleth all the reste. Myne owne affection by seeing the quene's majestie our soverain is doubled, and thereby I guess what sight might worke in others. Her hair of itself is black, and yet Mr. Knollys told me that she wears hair of sundry colors.

"In looking upon her cloth of estate,[e] I noted this sentence embroidered, *En ma fin est mon commencement*, which is a ryddil I understande not. The greatest personage in house about her is the Lord of Levenston and the lady his wyfe, which is a fayre gentilwoman, and it was told me both Protestants. She hath nine women more, fiftie persons in household, with ten horses. The Busshope of Rosse lay then thre myles off in a towne called Burton-upon-

[e] The cloth of estate represented by letters the names of the queen's father and mother, with the arms of Scotland in the middle, quartered with the arms of Lorraine.

Trent, with another Scottishe lorde,[f] whose name I have forgotten. My Lord of Shrewesbury is very carefull of his charge, but the quene over-watches them all, for it is one of the clocke at leaste every night ere she go to bed.

"The next morning I was up timely, and, viewing the scite of the house, which in myne opinion standes much like Windesor, I espied two halbard men without the castell wall searching underneathe the quene's bed-chamber window.

"Thus have I troubled your honor with rehersall of this long colloquy hapned betweene the Quene of Scotts and me, and yet had I rather in my owne fancy adventure thus to encomber you, then leave it unreported, as near as my memory could serve me, though the greatest part of our communication was in the presence of my Lord of Shrewesbury and Mr. Harry Knollys; praying you to beare with me therein, among the number of those that load you with long frivolous letters. And so I humbly take my leave, awaiting an easterly winde. From West Chester, the 26th of February.

"Your honor's assuredly to command,

"N. WHITE."

[f] The Bishop of Ross is said to have chosen Burton for his residence that he might be less under the surveillance of the Earl of Shrewsbury's servants and retainers. The lord, whose name White had forgotten, was perhaps Lord Kilwynnie.

1571.

In May, the Earl of Shrewsbury informed Cecil that he had, with great difficulty, reduced the queen's attendants to thirty, but that she had entreated him, with tears in her eyes, to allow nine more to remain. Lord and Lady Livingston appear to have been the principal persons about her. She seems to have had five bed-chamber women and dressers. Castel was her physician, and Roulet her secretary. Above all, she had with her William Douglas, who had so essentially contributed to her escape from Lochleven Castle. The others were chiefly menials.

This establishment, on the discovery of the Duke of Norfolk's conspiracy, fomented by the Queen of Scots, was reduced in September to ten persons. When the order for this reduction was communicated to Mary by Lord Shrewsbury, he wrote to Elizabeth that "she was excedinglie troubled, weping and sorrowing, and said that nowe she loked shortely that her life shuld end, 'for thus doth the quene use me,' saith she, 'to that purpose; yet I desire,' saith she, 'that some good and learned man may be with me before my death, to comfort and stay my conscience, being a Christian woman, and the world shall know,' said she, 'that I died a trew prince, and in the Catholicke faithe that I professe.'"

On her refusal to select the servants whom she

wished to retain, the earl was obliged himself to name those who were to stay. He further mentioned, that neither she nor any of her attendants should depart out of the gates, till her majesty should otherwise command.

In December, the same year, the earl acquainted Cecil, now created Lord Burghley, that "this quene make eftesones great complaynte unto me of her sickly estate, and that she loked verily to perishe therby, and used diverse melancholy words, that it is ment it should so come to passe without helpe of medicine, and all because I was not ready to send up her phisician's letters unto you. Which indede I refused, for that I perceived her principall drifte was and is to have some libertie out of these gates, which in no wise I will consent unto, because I see no small perill therin.

"Notwithstanding, leste she should think that the quene's majestie had commanded me to denye her suche reasonable meanes as might save her life, by order of phisick, I thought it not amisse, uppon her said complaynt and instance, to send up the said letters here inclosed, to be considered on as shall stand with the quene's majestie's pleasure. But truly I wold be very loathe that any libertie or exercise should be grauhted unto her, or any of hers, out of these gates, for feare of many daungers nedeles to be remembered unto you. I do suffer her to

walke upon the leades here in open ayre, in my large dyning chamber, and also in this court yard, so as bothe I myself or my wife be allwaise in her company, for avoyding all others' talk either to herself or any of hers. And sure watche is kept within and without the walles bothe night and day, and shall so contynewe, God willing, so long as I shall have the charge."

1584.

In August 1584, Sir Ralph Sadler was appointed warden of the queen, with Somer, his son-in-law, for his assistant; and on the 2nd of the following month she was removed, in pursuance of Elizabeth's orders, from Sheffield to Wingfield, though Sadler wrote to Walsingham that he would rather have had the custody of the captive queen with sixty soldiers at the former place, than with three hundred at the latter, on account of its openness. On the road, she asked Somer if he thought she would escape if she could. Somer replied that he thought she would, as 'it was natural to seek liberty when confined. No, she rejoined, you are mistaken: I had rather die in this captivity with honour than run away with shame. Somer said that he should be sorry to see her put to the trial. Mary assured him that if the queen would grant her liberty, she should wish to go to Scotland and give

him good advice: still she never would reside permanently there, where she had been so ill-treated, but go and end her days in France, without troubling herself with politics or marriage.

At Wingfield, the queen was guarded by forty stout soldiers, with the aid of eight persons of Shrewsbury's household.

Sadler soon became so disgusted with his office that he besought Burleigh and Walsingham, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to relieve him from it, as he would rather be a prisoner for life in the Tower than continue in so disagreeable a service. The queen was continually urging him to keep a vigilant eye over his prisoner, and desired that the servants who attended her should be furnished with "daggers and petronels." Sadler, in reply to Walsingham, intimated the improbability of her attempting to escape, considering the extraordinary precautions and "her tenderness of body, subject to a violent rheum upon any cold, which causeth a plentiful distillation from above down to her left foot, which is much pained and sometimes a little swollen." He explained the strength of the place, and the extraordinary pains taken to prevent the possibility of escape; and mentioned the gentlemen living around the castle who were ready to render assistance. Besides the establishment of the castle, he had forty-three of his own servants,

every one armed with sword and dagger, some with pistols, and some with long shot. He concluded with recommending the queen's ministers to enter into a treaty and end the matter with the Queen of Scots by an honourable composition.

1585.

The failure of the treaty which had been for some time on foot for Mary's liberation was extremely mortifying to her; but when she learned that the place of her residence and her keeper were again to be changed, she was thrown into despair. The fact was that at Wingfield the great difficulty was to obtain a sufficient supply of provisions and other necessaries: and Sadler, while enlarging on his own age, infirmities, and disabilities to Elizabeth, gave the following account of the state of the Queen of Scots at the end of 1584. "I find her much altered from that she was when I was first acquainted with her. This restraint of liberty, with the grief of mind which she hath had by the same, hath wrought no good effect in her temperament. She is not yet able to strain her left foot to the ground, and, to her very great grief, not without tears, finding that, being wasted and shrunk of its natural measure, and shorter than the other, she feareth it will hardly return to its natural state without the benefit of hot baths."

Sir Ralph, nevertheless, received orders to remove his prisoner to Tutbury Castle, in Staffordshire, and appointed the 13th of January, 1585, for leaving Wingfield, intending to reach Tutbury on the following day; but "the ways being so foul and deep, and she so lame, though in good health of body; myself also," adds Sadler, "being more unable than she is to travel, as I have not been well this month or more," they could not go through in a day. Accordingly they halted for the night at Derby. Elizabeth expressed displeasure that Sir Ralph had lodged the queen in the town. His answer was, that "it could not possibly be avoided; as he ascertained before by sending persons of judgment to survey the country and to see if any other road passable by coach and carriage could be found, but they could find no other that was passable, and besides there was no gentleman's house to lodge her at during the night; even the road to Derby was bad enough at that season of the year, and he was obliged to cause bridges to be made to get over some bad passages. As to the information of a great personage, delivered to him by some officious officer, that this queen was offered to salute and kiss a multitude of the townswomen of Derby, and of the speeches she was said to have made to them, I do assert, and Mr. Somer will be sworn, if need be, I going before the queen, and

he next behind her, yea, before all the gentlemen, on purpose, saving one that carried up her gown, that her entertainment was this: In the little hall was the good wife, being an ancient widow, named Mrs. Beaumont, with four other women, her neighbours; as soon as Queen Mary knew who was her hostess, after she had made her curtesy to the rest of the women standing next to the door, the queen went to the hostess and kissed her and none other, saying that she was come thither to trouble her, and that she was also a widow, and therefore trusted that they should agree well enough together, having no husbands to trouble them; and so went into the parlour, upon the same low floor, and no stranger with her but the good wife and her sister."

It had been reported to Elizabeth that Sadler had allowed Mary to go a-hawking, and the honest old knight deemed it necessary to justify himself in a letter to Walsingham, to this effect. When he came to Tutbury, finding the country suitable for the sport of hawking, which he had always delighted in, he sent home for his hawks and falconers, "wherewith to pass this miserable life which I lead here." When they came he used them sometimes not far from the castle; "whereon this queen, having earnestly entreated me that she might go abroad with me to see my hawks fly, a pastime

indeed which she hath singular delight in, and I, thinking it could not be ill taken, assented to her desire; and so hath she been abroad with me three or four times hawking upon the river here [the Dove], sometimes a mile, sometimes two miles, but not past three miles when she was farthest from the castle." She was guarded, he added, by forty or fifty of his own servants and others on horseback, some armed with pistols, which he knew to be a sufficient guard against any sudden attempt that could be made for her escape. Herein, he concludes, he used his discretion, and he thought he did well; "but," he says, "since it is not well taken, I would to God that some other had the charge who would use it with more discretion than I can; for I assure you I am so weary of it, that if it were not more for that I would do nothing that would offend her majesty than for fear of any punishment, I would come home and yield myself to be a prisoner in the Tower all the days of my life, rather than I would attend any longer here upon this charge. And if I had known, when I came from home, I should have tarried here so long, contrary to all the promises which were made to me, I would have refused, as others do, and have yielded to any punishment, rather than I would have accepted of this charge; for a greater punishment cannot be ministered unto me than to force me to remain

here in this sort, as it appears things well meant by me are not well taken."

Somer confirmed Sir Ralph's statement, denying that he allowed the Queen of Scots more liberty than Shrewsbury had done. He testified that when she went a-hawking she was always attended by a strong guard, well mounted and armed, and she had only four men and two gentlewomen with her; and her majesty may be assured that, "if any danger had been offered, or doubt suspected, this queen's body should first have tasted of the gall,"—so that Elizabeth's officers were invested with the power of life and death over their royal prisoner.

In the spring of 1585, Sir Ralph Sadler was relieved from his disagreeable office by Sir Amyas Paulet, formerly ambassador in France, and in the sequel he had his old friend, Sir Drue Drury, given him for an assistant.

Soon after the custody of Mary was committed to Paulet, her letters for France were ordered to be sent to Walsingham to be forwarded. This direction she received with indignation. She exclaimed, as Paulet wrote to Walsingham, "that she would not be separated from her union with the King of France, who was her ally; and she could see plainly that her destruction was sought, and that her life would be taken from her, and

then it would be said that she had died of sickness; but when she was at the lowest her heart was at the greatest, and, being prepared for extremity, she would provoke her enemies to do the worst."

At this time the queen was in a very weak state. In June Paulet reports that she was sometimes carried in a chair into the garden, her legs being so weak that, when she did sometimes use them, she was obliged to be supported by two of her gentlemen. He was satisfied that, without great negligence on his part, she could not escape: and adds, "If I should be violently attacked, so I will be assured that she shall die before me."

On the 16th of August, Paulet gives the following account of a long conversation with his prisoner. She said "that she had given herself wholly to her majesty in all humbleness, in all faithfulness, in all sincerity, in all integrity (I use her own words), and had renounced all foreign help to please her highness, and thereby given her to know that she depended wholly of her. That her words had no credit; she was not believed; and her proffers refused, when they might have done good. That she had proffered her heart and body to her majesty; her body is taken, and great care had for the safe keeping of it, but her heart is refused. She said, if she were employed she might do good, and when she shall be required hereafter, it will be too late.

Then she is said to boast, when she offered herself and her services with all humbleness; then she is said to flatter; that she feeled the smart of every accident that happened to the danger of her majesty's person or estate, although she were guiltless in hand and tongue. That if she had desired great liberty, her majesty might have justly been jealous of her, but she desired only reasonable liberty for her health. That if the treaty had proceeded between her majesty and her, she knowed France had now been quiet. That, in considering the indispositions of her body, she had no hope of long life, and much less of a pleasant life, having lost the use of her limbs, and therefore is far from the humours of ambition, desiring only to be well accepted where she shall deserve well, and by that means during her short days to carry a contented and satisfied mind. That it was not her calling to win fame by victories, but would think herself happy if, by her mediation, peace might be entertained in all the countries generally, and in this country especially. That if she had spoken with the King of Navarre his ambassador at his being here this last winter, she thinketh there had been now good amitie between her majesty and the house of Guise, and did not doubt to have done some good if she had been made acquainted with his last coming here. That her son is a stranger unto her, but if

he should be possessed with ambition, he might play of both hands and do bad offices. That he did express to her in his letters that she was shut up in a desert, so as he could not send to her, or hear from her, which was the reason that he did help himself by other means the best he could, and was forced to do so. Finally, that although she had been esteemed as nobody, and had determined when her help was hereafter required to be indeed as nobody, and so to answer; yet, for the love she beareth her majesty and this realm, she will not refuse to employ her best means, if it shall please her highness to use her service, which she will do, not so much for respect of her own particular as for her majesty's security and benefit of this realm. I omit the protestations of her sincere and upright dealing with her majesty, and her solemn oaths, that she had not of long time given or received any intelligence to or from any of her friends, because they are no new things unto you. It seemed she would not satisfy herself with speaking, and therefore I said the lesser, advising her to comfort herself with your majesty's favour, whereof no doubt some good effect would come, if herself or her friends did not give cause to the contrary. I know this kind of matter is not new unto you, and perchance I should have forborne in some other time to have reported the same; but, considering the scope of

her majesty's letter unto this queen, I thought it agreeable with my duties to acquaint you with her speeches, and so do refer them to your better consideration."

During the summer of this year the queen's health did not improve. In September, Paulet writes: "The indisposition of the queen's body, and the great infirmity of her leg, which is so desperate that herself doth not hope of any recovery, is no small advantage to her keeper, who shall not need to stand in great fear of her running away, if he can foresee that she be not taken away from him by force."

In another report he says: "The queen is very much grieved with ache in her limbs, so as she is not able to move in her bed without great help, and when she is moved, endures great pain."

1586.

On the third of June, Paulett informed Walsingham: "The Scottish queen is getting a little strength, and has been out in her coach, and is sometimes carried in a chair to one of the adjoining ponds to see the diversion of duck-hunting; but she is not able to go [walk] without support on each side."

The helpless state to which the Queen of Scots was reduced by ill-health, did not, however, pre-

vent her from engaging in fresh plots against her good sister. In the month of August, Babington's conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth was discovered by Elizabeth's ministers, as well as Mary's participation in it. She had been by this time removed to Chartley, whither orders were sent to Paulett to take her for a short period to Tixall, a mansion of Sir Walter Aston's, about three miles distant. Paulett accordingly went out with her on horseback, accompanied by her attendants, upon the pretext of hunting. Being informed by the way of the orders which Paulet had received, and that her secretaries, Nau and Curl, were to be separated from her, the queen was so enraged that she used the most opprobrious language of the messenger and his mistress, and even called upon her people to protect her. Regardless of her passion, Paulett led away the queen; the messenger returned with her two secretaries, who were sent prisoners to London; while Wood and Alley, despatched for the purpose by Walsingham, secured the queen's papers during her absence at Tixall.

Before the end of August the queen was taken back to Chartley. "As she was coming out of Sir Walter Aston's gate," says Paulet, in a report of the 27th, "she said with a loud voice, weeping, to some poor folks which were there assembled, 'I have nothing for you; I am a beggar as well as

you; all is taken from me.' And when she came to the gentlemen she said, weeping, 'Good God! I am not witting or privy to anything against the queen.' "

"She visited Curl's wife, who was delivered of a child in her absence, before she went to her own chamber, willing her to be of good comfort, and that she would answer for her husband in all things that might be objected against him. Curl's child remaining unbaptized, and the priest removed before the arrival of their lady, she desired that my minister might baptize the child, with such godfathers as I might procure, so as the child might bear her name, which being refused [probably because the child was to have been baptized and brought up according to the Catholic faith] she came shortly after in Curl's wife's chamber, where, taking the child on her knees, she took water out of a basin, and casting it upon the face of the child, she said, 'I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost,' calling the child by her own name, Mary. This may not be found strange in her, who maketh no conscience to break the laws of God and man.

"On her coming hither, Mr. Darell delivered the keys as well of her chamber as of her coffers to Bastian, which he refused by direction of his mistress who required Mr. Darell to open her cham-

ber-door, which he did, and then the lady, finding that the papers were taken away, said in great choler, that two things could not be taken away from her, her English blood and her Catholic religion, which she would keep unto her death, adding these words, 'some of you will be sorry for it,' meaning the taking away of her papers."

1587.

The memorial, addressed by the master of Gray to the King of Scotland, referred to in the note, p. 168, is as follows:

"It will please your majesty, I have tho't meeter to set down all things as they occur, and all advertisements as they came to my ears, then jointly in a lettre.

"I came to Vere the 24th of Decr. and sent to Wm. Keith, and Mr. Archibald Douglas, to advertize the queen of it, like as they did at their audience. She promised the queen your majesty's mother's life should be spared till we were heard. The 27th, they came to Vare to me, the which day Sir Robt. came to Vare, where they shewed us how far they had already gone in their negociation, but for that the discourse of it is set down in our general letter, I remit me to it, only this far I will testify unto your majesty that Wm. Keith hath used himself right honestly and justly till our coming, re-

specting all circumstances, and chiefly his colleague his dealing, which indeed is not better than your majesty knows already.

" The 29th day of Decr. we came to London, where we were no ways friendly received, nor after the honest sort it has pleased your majesty use her ambassadors; never man sent to welcome or convey us. This same day we understood of Mr. de Bellievre his taking leave, and for that the custom permitted not we sent our excuses by Mr. George Young.

" The 1st day of Janry, Wm. Keith and his colleague, according to the custom, sent to crave our audience. We received the answer contained in the general letter, and could not have answer till the 6th day; what was done that day your majesty has it in the general, yet we was not out of expectation at that time, albeit we received hard answers.

" The 8th day we speak with the Earl of Leicester, where our conference was, as is set down in the general. I remarked this, that he that day said plainly the detaining of the Queen of Scotland prisoner was for that she pretended a succession to this crown. Judge then by this what is tho't of your majesty, as ye shall hear a little after.

" The 9th day we speak with the French ambassador, whom we find very plain in making to us a wise discourse of all his proceedings, and Mr. de

Bellievre we thanked him in your majesty's name, and opened such things as we had to treat with this queen, save the last point, as more largely set down by our general.

" It is tho't here, and some friends of your majesty's advised me, that Bellievre his negotiation was not effectual, and that the resident was not privy to it, as indeed I think is true, for since Bellievre his perting, there is a talk of this Chasteauneuf his servants taken with his whole papers and pacquets, which he was sending in France, for that they charge him with a conspiracy of late against the queen here her life. It is alledged his servant has confessed the matter, but whom I shall trust I know not, but till I see proof I shall account him an honest man, for indeed so he appears, and one (without doubt) who hath been very instant in this matter. I shew him that the queen and Earl of Leicester had desired to speak with me in private, and craved his opinion: he gave it freely that he tho't it meetest, I shew him the reason why I communicate that to him, for that I had been suspected by some of her majesty's friends in France to have done evil offices in her service, that he should be my witness that my earnest dealing in this should be a sufficient testimony that all was lyes, and that this knave Naue who now had betrayed her, had in that done evil offices; he desired me, seeing she

saw only with other folks eyes, that I should no ways impute it to her, for the like she had done to himself by Naue his persuasion. I answered he should be my witness in that.

"The 9th day we sent to court to crave audience, which we got the 10th day; at the first, she said a thing long looked for should be welcome when it comes, I would now see your master's offers. I answered, no man makes offers but for some cause; we would, and like your majesty, first know the cause to be extant for which we offer, and likewise that it be extant till your majesty has heard us. I think it be extant yet, but I will not promise for an hour, but you think to shift in that sort. I answered we mind not to shift, but to offer from our sovereign all things that with reason may be; and in special, we offered as is set down in our general, all was refused and tho't nothing. She called on the three that were in the house, the Earl of Leicester, my lord admiral, and chamberlain, and very despitefully repeated all our offers in presence of them all. I opened the last part, and said, Madam, for what respect is it that men deal against your person or estate for her cause? She answered, because they think she shall succeed to me, and for that she is a papist; appearingly, said I, both the causes may be removed; she said, she would be glad to understand it. If, madam, said

I, all that she has of right of succession were in the king our sovereign's person, were not all hope of papists removed? She answered, I hope so. Then, madam, I think the queen his mother shall willingly demit all her rights in his person. She answered, she hath no right, for she is declared unable. Then, I said, if she have no right, appearingly the hope ceases already, so that it is not to be feared that any man attempt for her. The queen answered, but the papists allow not our declaration; then let it fall, says I, in the king's person by her assignation. The Earl of Leicester answered, She is a prisoner, how can she demit? I answered the demission is to her son, by the advice of all the friends she has in Europe; and in case, as God forbid, that any attempt cuttis the queen here away, who shall parly with her to prove the demission or assignation to be ineffectual, her son being opposite party, and having all the princes her friends for him, having bonded for the efficacy of it with his majesty of before. The queen made as she could not comprehend my meaning, and Sir Rob^{t}. opened the matter again, yet she made as though she understood not. So the Earl of Leicester answered that our meaning was, that the king should be put in his mother's place. Is it so, the queen answered, then I put myself in a worse case than of before; by God's passion, that were to cut my own throat, and for a

duchy, or an earldome to yourself, you or such as you would cause some of your desperate knaves kill me. No, by God, he shall never be in that place. I answered, he craves nothing of your majesty but only of his mother. The Earl of Leicester answered, that were to make him party to the queen my mistress. I said, he will be far more party, if he be in her place thro' her death. She would stay no longer, but said she would not have a worse in his mother's place. And said, tell your king what good I have done for him in holding the crown on his head since he was born, and that I mind to keep the league that now stands between us, and if he break it shall be a double fault, and with this minded to have bidden us a farewell; but we escheuit. And I speak craving of her that her life may be spared for fifteen days; she refused. Sir Rob^{t}. craved for only eight days, she said not for an hour; and so geid her away. Your majesty sees we have delivered all we had for offers, but all is for nothing, for she and her councel has laid a determination that they mind to follow forth, and I see it comes rather of her council than herself, which I like the worse; for without doubt, sir, it shall cut off all friendship ye had here. Altho'. it were that once they had meaned well to your majesty, yet remembring themselves, that they have medled with your mother's blood, good faith they cannot hope great

good of yourself, a thing in truth I am sorry for; further your majesty may perceive by this last discourse of that I proponit, if they had meaned well to your majesty, they had used it otherwise than they have done, for reason has bound them. But I dare not write all. I mind something to speak in this matter, because we look shurly our letters shall be troucit by the way.

"For that I see private credit nor no means can alter their determination, altho' the queen again and the Earl of Leicester has desired to speak with me in particular; I mind not to speak, nor shall not; but assuredly shall let all men see that I in particular was no ways tyed to England, but for the respect of your majesty's service. So albeit, at this time, I could not effectuate that I desired, yet my upright dealing in it shall be manifested to the world. We are, God willing, then to crave audience, where we mind to use sharply our instructions, which hitherto we have used very calmly, for we can, for your honour's cause, say no less for your majesty, than the French ambassador has said for his master.

"So I pray your majesty consider my upright dealing in your service, and not the effect, for had it been double by any I might have here had credit, but being I came only for that cause I will not my credit shall serve here to any further purpose. I

pray God preserve your majesty and send you a true and sincere friendship. From London, this 12th of Jan. 1586-7.

"I understand the queen is to send one of her own to your majesty."

The conduct of Elizabeth after the signature of the warrant for the execution of the Queen of Scots betrays a manifest conviction of the unjustifiable rigour of such a proceeding, and a desire to spare herself the odium of commanding it; and it would lead us to infer that the indignation afterwards shown by her against Burleigh and the other members of her council, but more especially against secretary Davison, proceeded not so much from the dispatch of the warrant without her knowledge, as from a disappointed expectation that they would have found obsequious tools willing, for her sake, to incur the guilt of murder. Such a fact would appear incredible, were it not proved by the strongest evidence. Though the queen hesitated to order the public execution of her royal prisoner, she felt no scruple to direct her secretaries, Walsingham and Davison, to urge Paulet and Drury to take the life of Mary in private. These two wardens, however, were two circumspect to follow a suggestion the adoption

of which must have devoted them to everlasting infamy.

The apology addressed by Davison to Walsingham respecting the execution of the warrant for Mary's death, given by Camden, places it beyond doubt that this instrument was sent from Whitehall, without the knowledge of Elizabeth, by the members of her council; and it furnishes equal proof of the anxiety which she felt to get rid of her prisoner by assassination.

"The queen," says the secretary, "after the departure of the French and Scottish ambassadors, of her own motion, commanded me to deliver the warrant for executing the sentence against the Queen of Scots. When I had delivered it, she signed it readily with her own hand. When she had so done, she commanded it to be sealed with the great seal of England, and in a jesting manner said, 'go tell all this to Walsingham who is now sick, although I fear me, he will die for sorrow when he hears of it.' She added also the reasons for her deferring it so long; namely, lest she might seem to have been violently or maliciously drawn thereto, whereas, in the meantime, she was not ignorant how necessary it was. Moreover, she blamed Paulet and Drury that they had not eased her of this care, and wished that Walsingham would feel their pulses in this matter. The next

day after it [the warrant] was passed under the great seal, she commanded me by Killigrew that it should not be done; and, when I informed her that it was done already, she found fault with such great haste, telling me that in the judgment of such wise men another course might be taken. I answered, that course was always safest and best which was most just. But, fearing lest she would lay the fault upon me, as she had laid the putting to death of the Duke of Norfolk upon the Lord Burghley, I acquainted Hatton with the whole matter, protesting that I would not plunge myself any deeper in so great a business. He presently imparted it to the Lord Burghley, and the Lord Burghley to the rest of the council, who all consented to have the execution hastened, and every one of them vowed to bear an equal share in the blame, and sent Beal away with the warrant and letters. The third day after, when by a dream which she told of the Queen of Scots' death, I perceived that she wavered in her resolution, I asked her whether she had changed her mind: She answered, no, but another course might have been devised. And withal, she asked me whether I had received any answer from Paulet; whose letter when I showed it to her, wherein he flatly refused to undertake that which stood not with honour and justice, she, waxing angry, accused him and others who had

bound themselves by the association, of perjury and breach of their vow, as those who had promised great matters for their prince's safety, but would perform nothing. Yet there are, said she, who will do it for my sake. But I showed her how dishonourable and unjust a thing this would be, and withal, into how great danger she would bring Paulet and Drury by it; for, if she approved the fact, she would draw upon herself both danger and dishonour, not without the note of injustice; and, if she disallowed it, she would utterly undo men of great desert and their whole posterity. And afterwards she gave me a light check, the same day that the Queen of Scots was executed, because she was not yet put to death."

The letter from the secretaries to Paulet and Drury, dated the first of February, was answered by them on the following day; and on the 8th Paulet again wrote to Davison in allusion to the detestable commission. "If I should say I have burnt the papers you wot of, I cannot tell if any body would believe me; and, therefore, I keep them to be delivered to your own hands at my coming to London." This letter is in the State Paper Office; but Paulet had entered this correspondence in his letter-book, from which it has been transcribed and published. Chalmers, in a note to his Life of Mary, informs us that "in the

Harley MSS. (No. 6994, Art. 29 and 30) there are copies of those letters, partly in the handwriting of Lord Oxford himself, which were lent by him to the Duke of Chandos, who returned them in a letter dated at Cannons, August 23rd, 1725, expressing his opinion that "they are a very valuable curiosity, and deserve well to be preserved." But neither Lord Oxford nor the duke seems to have known that they had been already published in 1722, by Mackenzie, in his life of Mary (Lives, iii. 340-1). They were also published in 1725, in Jebb's History of the Life and Reign of Mary (App. viii.). "It was not sufficient," adds Chalmers, "to say that those letters were curiosities; they will for ever remain indubitable proofs of the murderous spirit of Elizabeth."

Davison's fate was particularly hard. Elizabeth affected extreme anger with him on the ground that he had despatched the warrant without her order; and his case being carried into the Star Chamber, he was fined £10,000, and utterly ruined.

Raumer, whose industrious researches concerning the transactions between Mary and Elizabeth are well known, takes a different view of this matter. He not only insists that the latter was kept in ignorance of the despatch of the warrant till after the fatal catastrophe, but doubts whether she

gave directions for the suggestion made by Davison to Paulet before the execution of the Queen of Scots, and whether, as Davison maintains, she had seen Paulet's answer.

The same writer has transcribed from the Harleian MSS., and printed two letters from Burghley, the old, able, and faithful servant of Elizabeth, in confirmation of his views. The first, addressed to the queen herself, when bowed down by the weight of her displeasure, is as follows:

"Most mighty and gracious queen! I know not with what manner of words to direct my writing to your majesty; to utter any thing like a counsellor, as I was wont to do, I find myself debarred, by your majesty's displeasure, declared unto me many ways; to utter any thing in my defence; being in your majesty's displeasure, I doubt, whilst the displeasure lasteth, how to be heard without the increase of the same; and to rest also dumb must needs both increase and continue your heavy displeasure. And therein is my misfortune, far beyond others in like case, who, coming to your person, may with boldness say that for themselves which I also might as truly allege for myself. Therefore, most gracious queen, in these perplexities, I am sometimes deeply drawn down near to the pit of despair, but yet sometimes also drawn up to behold the beams of your accustomed graces;

and therefore stayed and supported with the pillar of my conscience before God, and of my loyalty towards your majesty; and so I am, I thank my God, prepared to suffer patiently the discomfort of one, and to enjoy the comfort of the other, knowing both to be in your power.

"I hear with grief of mind and body also that your majesty doth utter more heavy, hard, bitter, and minatory speeches against me than almost against any other, and so much the more do they wound me in the very strings of my true heart, as they are commonly and vulgarly reported, although by some, with compassion of me, knowing my long, painful, dangerous, unspotted service; but by divers others, I think with applause, as maligning me for my true service against your sworn enemies. And if any reproach, yea, if any punishment for me may pleasure your majesty, and not hinder your majesty's reputation (which is hardly to be imagined), I do yield thereunto, and do offer me, your majesty, (a sacrifice to satisfy your majesty's displeasure, or to pleasure any other person,) to acquit myself freely of all places of public governments or concernments, whereof none of them can be used by me to your benefit, being in your displeasure. And yet, nevertheless, I shall continue in a private state as earnest in continual prayers for your majesty's safety and my country, as I

was wont to be in public actions. And whatever worldly adversity your majesty shall lay upon me, I shall, by assistance of God's grace, constantly and resolutely affirm, prove, and protest to the world, during the few days of my life, that I never did, or thought to do, any thing with mind to offend your majesty. But, in the presence of God, who shall judge both quick and dead, I do avow that I never was in my under age more fearful to displease my masters and tutors, than I have always been inwardly, both out of and in your presence, to discontent your sacred majesty. I thank God, out of due reverence, and not out of doubtfulness now, to do my duty.

"Thus, most gracious queen, being by my own mishaps deprived of your presence, I have confusedly uttered my great griefs, and have offered the sacrifice of a sorrowful wounded heart, ready to abide your majesty, and to wear out the few, short, and weak threads of my old, painful, and irksome days as your majesty shall limit them; being glad that the night of my age is so near, by service and sickness, as I cannot long wake to the miseries, that I fear others shall see to overtake us, from the which I shall and do pray the Almighty God to deliver your person, as he has hitherto done, rather by miracle than by ordinary means.

"I beseech your majesty, pardon me to remember, to let you understand my opinion of Mr. Davison. I never perceived by him that you would have misliked to have had an end of the late capital enemy, and what your majesty minded to him in your displeasure I hear to my grief; but, for a servant in that place, I think is hard to find a like qualified person, when to reign (remain?) in your majesty's displeasure shall be more your loss than his."

Thus far the first letter of Burghley to Elizabeth. The second, addressed to a person whose name does not appear, dated the 10th of March, 1587, is as follows:

"Her majesty was altogether ignorant of the deed, and not privy thereto until a reasonable time after the same was done. Besides, her royal solemnly given word that she is ignorant of this transaction, there are many proofs which testify her dislike to the measure. She paid no attention to the demands of the parliament, which departed in no small grief of mind. After the dissolution of the parliament, all her counsellors, both privately and publicly, continued their solicitations by many urgent reasons that concerned the safety of her own person, against which, though she had no reason to maintain her refusal, yet she dismissed them always unsatisfied with the only re-

pugnant disposition of her mind. Of these arguments before the fact, the times, places, persons, were so many as there is nothing more notorious in court or country. And thus she continued her mind constantly, to the great grief of all who loved her, and saying that she had this repugnancy in her own nature. She did know that to have assented thereto had been agreeable to God's law and man's, and most pleasing to all her faithful subjects.

"Now for the time and manner of the fact done she was also ignorant, and so all of her council that had any knowledge thereof did afterwards confess, that though *they were abused* by one of the council, being her secretary, *whose office was in all affairs* to deliver unto their knowledge her majesty's liking or misliking, yet, in very truth, no one of them was able to show *any other* proof of knowledge of her liking but the report colourably uttered by the said secretary. Yet such was the universal desire of all people to have justice done, and the benefit so manifest for the safety of her person, *that no man had any disposition to doubt of the report.* And so it appeared manifestly afterwards of what was done. She fell into such deep grief of mind, and that accompanied with vehement, unfeigned weeping, as her health was greatly impaired. And then she charged all her

counsellors most bitterly that were privy thereto; and though they did affirm that they thought that she assented, as they were informed only by the secretary, yet she furtherwise commanded the secretary to the Tower, who confessed his abuse in the report, having no such declaration to him made of her majesty's assent; and commanded the greater part of her principal counsellors to places of restraint, banishing a great part of them from her, notwithstanding the great need she had of their presence and service all the time; a matter seen in her court, universally misliked to see her so greatly grieved and offended for a matter that was in justice and policy most necessary. In this manner she continued a long time to sorrow for that which was done, and in offences against her counsellors, and the prosecution of the cause, with intention of displeasure. She called to her five of her judges and men learned in law, and directed them to use all means possible to examine her secretary of the grounds of his actions, and how many were privy of his abuse; and also the most part of her privy councillors; and to that end gave a like commission to a number of noblemen of the realm, though not privy counsellors, and to the two archbishops, and to all the chief judges of the realm, who did very exactly proceed against the secretary, upon his own confession, in public place

of judgment; and did likewise examine the rest of the council upon sundry interrogations, tending to burden them as offenders; and finding no proof against them of any thing material, but of their credulity to the secretary, the judges of the commission only proceeded against the secretary for his imprisonment in the Tower, a fine of 1000 marks for his contempt against her majesty, the process of which sentence is to be publicly seen in the Court of Chancery."

The queen, it is further stated, is innocent, and Davison guilty, he affirming truly that her majesty was neither willing nor privy thereto; but yet he affirmed, that he at the same time saw so imminent danger to her majesty's person by the sufferance of another to live that was justly condemned to death, and the whole realm in a murmur against the life of the said person, as he was provoked in his conscience to procure justice to be done without her majesty's consent or knowledge. And upon the said trial, and the said secretary's own confession, and upon other proofs, tending to show the said secretary fully culpable of the fact, notwithstanding the allegation of the motive of his conscience, the lords and judges very solemnly gave sentence against him.

In the last letter which Paulet wrote to Walsingham on the 25th of February, 1587, he in-

formed him that he had brought all the Scottish people from Chartley to Fotheringay, and discharged all the soldiers, except four for the gate. All the jewels, plate, &c., belonging to the late Queen of Scots, were divided among her servants, previously to the receipt of Walsingham's letter. None of the servants or attendants, he says, except Mrs. Kennedy, have any thing to show in writing to prove that they were given to them by the late Scottish queen; for they all affirm that they were delivered to them with her own hands. They have been collected together, and an inventory taken of them, and they are now entrusted to the care of Mr. Melvin, the physician, and Mrs. Kennedy. "The care of embalming the body of the late queen was committed to the high sheriff of this county, who, no doubt, was very willing to have it well done, and used therein the advice of a physician dwelling at Stamford, with the help of two surgeons; and upon order given, according to your direction, for the body to be covered with lead, the physician hath thought good to add somewhat to his former doings, and doth now take upon him that it may continue for some reasonable time."

The expense of the queen's funeral, as certified by the lord treasurer, was £320 14*s*. 6*d*.

After her body had lain in Peterborough cathe-

dral twenty-five years, her son, James I., caused it to be removed to Henry the Seventh's chapel, Westminster Abbey, in October, 1612, and had a stately monument erected for her. For this monument, for Queen Elizabeth's, and for those of his own two daughters, Mary and Sophia, James paid £3500. Several tablets of marble, on the tomb of his mother, record her royal descent and relations, the extraordinary endowments, both of her body and mind, the troubles of her life, her constancy in religion, and her resolution in death.

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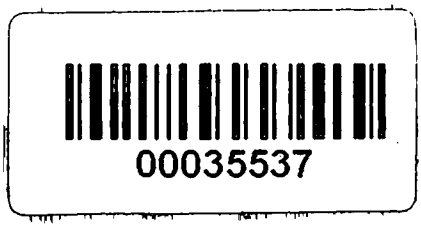
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